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THE ART OF LIVING

by Seneca

Translated by John W. Coles

Introduction by the Editor

With a new foreword by the author

Edited by the Editor

With a new introduction by the author

Translated by the Editor

With a new foreword by the author

Edited by the Editor

With a new introduction by the author

REVALUATION OF THE REFECTORY RETABLE FROM THE CATHEDRAL AT PAMPLONA*

GALE GUTHRIE CALLAHAN

I

AN outstanding example of Navarrese High Gothic wall-painting is to be found in the fourteenth century retable dedicated to the Passion of Christ, formerly located in the refectory of the cathedral at Pamplona (Fig. 1).¹ It was not until 1944, when the ensemble was cleaned, that the full value of this mural decoration was realized.² The top portion of the painting had been covered in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century with a scene of the *Agony in the Garden*, but the repainting which disfigured the lower zones had gradually disappeared and some indication of what was hidden beneath the outer layers had become apparent.³ Removal of the overpainting established the extraordinary artistic merit of the retable and brought to light the name of the artist, the date of the painting, and the constructor of the refectory. Now, in the Provincial Museum of Pamplona, in brilliant colors highlighted with gold, the artistry and craftsmanship of one Johannes Oliveri may be seen for the first time since the changing taste of the late Renaissance caused them to be overpainted.

The retable of Oliveri is one of a small but important group of mural paintings, executed during the same century, which reflects the spirit of Gothic art in the ancient capital of the Kingdom of Navarre.⁴ The three accompanying murals originally decorated walls in the cloister of the cathedral, and were removed at the same time as the refectory painting for installation in the Provincial Museum. In this presentation of the monumental art from Pamplona, the cycle of foreign trends which traversed the Pyrenees may be followed. Franco- and Italo-Gothic influences mark the work from the cloisters, while the refectory retable appears to bear the imprint of Anglo-Gothic art. These contributions are here joined to the native Spanish qualities to formulate the character of Navarrese artistic expression of the fourteenth century.

Before discussing the retable itself, brief reference to historical and geographical factors will help establish its place in the history of art. The political affiliations of Navarre with France began in 1234 with the accession of Theobald I, Count of Champagne, following the death of his uncle, Sancho VII, King of Navarre. The marriage of Joanna, heiress of Navarre and Champagne,

* I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Walter W. S. Cook of New York University for his guidance and counsel, to Dr. Adelaide Simpson of Hunter College for her assistance in deciphering the phylacteries, and to Señor José Uranga of the Diputación Foral of Pamplona, Director of Art for Navarre, for granting me free access to the room in which the paintings were stored in the Provincial Museum in Pamplona pending their permanent installation. Acknowledgment for the use of photographs is made to Archivo Mas, Barcelona, for Figs. 1-6.

1. Size: width of central section, 8' 7"; height of retable, 18' 10"; height of first zone, 5' 6"; height of second zone, 6' 2"; height of third zone, 7' 2"; width of panels, 1' 8"; height of panels, 18'.

2. The information contained in the inscription on the predella of the retable was published for the first time in

1944 (J. Gudiol Ricart, "Datos para la historia del arte navarro," *Príncipe de Viana*, v, 1944, p. 287). The painting was removed from the wall of the refectory in 1944, with others from the cloister, and transferred to canvas under the supervision of D. José Gudiol Ricart, assisted by D. Andrés Esturiol and D. José Pamiés.

3. C. R. Post, *History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge, 1930, II, p. 111.

4. The importance of these works has been recognized by such authorities as E. Bertaux ("La peinture en Espagne au XIV^e et au XV^e siècle," in A. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, Paris, 1908, III, pt. 2, p. 744), and Post (*op.cit.*, II, pp. 110-112, and IX, pt. 2, p. 739), but extensive study and revaluation have only become possible since their transference to canvas.

to Philip the Fair brought the border kingdom to the house of the Capets when Philip IV ascended the throne of France in 1285, and it remained under French rule until the death of Charles IV, the Fair, in 1328. Then, under Joanna, Queen of Navarre (1328-1349), and Philip of Evreux, Navarre was separated from France, but the close relationship remained even into the fifteenth century, through strong diplomatic ties, claims to certain French domains, and the intermarriage of royal and noble families. Because of the marked enthusiasm of the court for French expression, Navarre came readily under the influence of Franco-Gothic art, and when Italianized and Anglicized art forms appeared, Gallic aspects were likewise evident. Navarre, therefore, became not only a center for the amalgamation of these foreign styles, but also an avenue for their dissemination in other parts of Spain.

Because of its strategic location, Navarre had in the earlier Middle Ages served as a channel through which the stream of cultural communication flowed into Spain, when pilgrims converged there after crossing the Pyrenees on their way to Santiago de Compostela. The route organized by the Benedictines passed through Pamplona and thence to the far northwest of Spain along the way of St. James, according to the contemporary *Codex Calixtinus*.⁵ Artists and artistic ideas followed the pilgrims along these routes and forged an important link in the history of mediaeval art, through the pious joining of France with Spain. The ideas, however, traveled in both directions, and the Romanesque art of Spain retained its markedly individual character.⁶

The almost complete capitulation to French influence came in the fourteenth century, when the political ties of the successive ruling houses of Navarre tightened the geographical connection with France. This was to make the Franco-Gothic style the characteristic artistic expression throughout Spain until the middle of the century, an expression which persisted even longer in the border kingdom. During the second half of the century, Italian art infiltrated through diverse channels into Spain, but before it arrived in Navarre the purity of its Sienese forms was diluted by passage through Avignon. The appearance, during the third decade of the century, of an artistic example of apparent Anglo-Gothic character again reflects the intervening Gallic tendencies. This influence from the Court School of England may have reached Pamplona through the same channel of Avignon, or through the areas of the English-dominated south of France, to add its contribution to the international character of Gothic art in this northern Spanish kingdom.⁷

Navarrese wall painting of the late mediaeval period followed the general artistic pattern of Gothic tradition. The religious content was formulated by the theologians and scholars, a blend of the sacred with the worldly, but the rigidity of the iconographical arrangements had been somewhat relaxed by the fourteenth century through the new element of Franciscan sensibility, an awareness of suffering and grief which allowed a more tender and human interpretation. The style was affected by the French school for historical and geographical reasons, and the technique, while following the Spanish Romanesque mural painters, was closely akin to the methods practiced in western France and the Loire region.⁸ Despite strong foreign influences, however,

5. *Liber sancti Jacobi, Codex Calixtinus*, transcribed by W. M. Whitehill, Santiago de Compostela, 1944, pp. 349-352.

6. J. Bédier, *Les légendes épiques*, Paris, 1908, I, pp. 398-405; G. G. King, *The Way of St. James*, New York, 1920, I, pp. 64ff.; A. K. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, I, pp. 172-196.

7. J. Harvey has advanced the possibility that the English painter, Master Thomas, mentioned as working in Avignon in 1333, might be "the great Master Thomas, son of Walter [of Durham]," who worked at Westminster under his father from 1290, and was probably responsible for the abbey sedilia of ca. 1307 (*The Gothic World*, London, 1950, p. 103n). For further reference to Master Thomas, see E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting*, London, 1950, II, p. 451.

8. The technique of the Gothic wall painters at Pamplona follows closely the Romanesque tradition in using flat distemper applied to plaster which had actually set. Strictly speaking, it is not true fresco. The composition was lightly sketched in with pale ocher lines and the colors were brushed on, leaving the bulk of the pigment on the surface. Some color penetrated, because a stain of the original pigment remains in places even after the paintings have been removed from the walls. The belief is that the wall was thoroughly dampened and the color partially absorbed beneath the surface. This method was used by the English artists of the period (T. Borenius and E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Painting*, Florence, 1927, pp. 50-54) and was closely allied to the Romanesque technique employed in parts of France (F. Mercier, *Les primitifs français*, Paris, 1945, pp. 66-73).

the national character is present in the somber piety, the rigor of artistic expression, and the occasional use of exotic iconography.

The select group of murals from the cloister and the refectory of the Pamplona cathedral, representing Navarre's contribution to the cycle of Gothic monumental painting in Spain, offers notable contrasts of styles and themes. The Mother of Christ is honored in the three paintings which were located in the bays adjacent to the southeast corner of the cloister which adjoins the cathedral. In colors subdued by exposure to the elements, the compassion of the Virgin is depicted through scenes from her life and through her role as intercessor. The last bay of the east wall of the cloister walk formerly held a mural which portrayed in the upper zone *Joachim's Dream* and in the lower section the *Annunciation to Anna*, the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* and the *Nativity of the Virgin*.⁹ Stylistically, this composition indicates a sympathetic bond with Italo-Gothic art, probably retarded by passage through France. Adjacent to the first mural, on the south wall of the cloister and above the tomb of Bishop Miguel Sánchez de Asiaín, originally appeared the second painting dedicated to the Virgin, which is dated approximately by the bishop's death in 1364. The dominant Italianate style, the exotic iconography of the *Scala Salutis* in the tympanum and the scenes from the childhood of the Virgin below give further evidence of the manner in which style and theme from across the Pyrenees were interpreted according to the grave religious spirit of fourteenth century Navarre.¹⁰ The *Preciosa* portal, a magnificently sculptured doorway venerating the Virgin, separated the tomb of Bishop Asiaín from the third of the fourteenth century wall paintings in the cloister.¹¹ This mural also exalted the virtues and compassion of the Madonna through a complex arrangement of her genealogical tree in pictorial form. As a descendant of Jesse and Mother of Christ, her role as mediator is delicately rendered in a style which represents the flowering of Franco-Gothic art in Navarre.¹²

The retable dedicated to the Passion of Christ from the refectory of the cathedral embodies the same spirit as the compassionate Virgin of the cloister murals, but contrasts in theme, by the selection of scenes from the Easter cycle, and in style, by its apparent relationship to the art of Gothic England, modified through contact with France. The death of Christ was always at the very center of Christian faith, but during the formative century of the Gothic period, the dogma was crystallized into an intellectual and encyclopedic form. By the late thirteenth century the older iconography was being slowly transformed, through the teachings of St. Francis, to emphasize the human element. Ecclesiastical art "sought less to instruct than to move emotionally by the development which it gave to the most moving scenes of the Passion."¹³

The scriptural account of the Easter cycle related by the four Evangelists was lacking in color and interesting details for the mediaeval artist. He added such embellishments to the established points of belief, drawing upon the Apocryphal Gospels, legendary writings, and liturgical dramas. One of the most influential of the popular narratives, the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, long attributed to St. Bonaventure although actually written by an unknown Franciscan in the thirteenth

9. Post mentions this mural as "vestiges of frescoes, but only a scene representing the Meeting at the Golden Gate or the Visitation can be deciphered, and even this not clearly enough to justify an opinion in regard to whether the style is French or Italian" (*op.cit.*, II, pp. 109-110). The conclusions I offer were reached, despite the faded color and damaged surface of the painting's present state, after a close study of this composition had been made in the advantageous light and the close range afforded at the Provincial Museum in Pamplona.

10. For previous references, see Bertaux, *op.cit.*, III, pt. 2, p. 744; Post, *op.cit.*, II, p. 109. The interpretation of the tympanum which I have given has been made possible only since the removal of the painting from behind the Gothic tracery. This concealed the upper section, wherein the Redemption theme is presented in this particular form of intercession through the co-redeemers, Mary who reveals to Christ

the breasts from which he was nourished and Christ who displays his wounds to his Father, a conception which was still rare in the fourteenth century. For reference to the theme, see *Speculum humanae salvationis*, J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, eds., Leipzig, 1907, I, pp. 293-298; M. Vloberg, *La Vierge notre médiatrice*, Grenoble, 1938, pp. 203-215; M. Trens, *Maria*, Madrid, 1946, pp. 368-377.

11. L. Vazquez de Parga, "La dormición de la Virgen en la catedral de Pamplona," *Príncipe de Viana*, IX, 1948, pp. 3-18, pls. 1-24; E. Bertaux, "La sculpture du XIV^e siècle en Espagne," in A. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, Paris, 1906, II, pt. 2, p. 657.

12. Bertaux, "La peinture en Espagne au XIV^e et au XV^e siècle," in Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, III, pt. 2, p. 744; Post, *op.cit.*, II, p. 108.

13. L. Bréhier, *L'art chrétien*, Paris, 1918, p. 11.

century, incorporates the Apocryphal accounts from the *Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini* and the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, as well as the writings of St. Bernard, along with the Biblical story. The author infused the spirit of St. Francis into these accounts, and produced a moving version of Christ's Incarnation, Passion, and Resurrection.¹⁴ The *Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine (1275), based on the Apocryphal Gospels, likewise proved of inestimable value to the Gothic artist. These legendary sources profoundly influenced the artist's interpretation, since they embodied the spiritual and the mental outlook of the times.

The influence of the liturgy and the liturgical dramas has been emphasized by Mâle.¹⁵ The liturgy frequently determined the choice of certain scenes selected for their significance to illustrate the liturgical calendar, whereas the Christian dramas added picturesque details to the *mise en scène*. The popularity of these Latin dramatizations increased rapidly from the twelfth century on, and such contributions as the roles of the prophets, portrayed in the Christmas plays, or the setting and action of the Entombment and Resurrection scenes from the Easter cycles, may be seen in the refectory altarpiece.¹⁶

II

The retablo dedicated to the Passion of Christ was painted on the south wall of the refectory directly opposite the doorway leading from the cloisters of the cathedral. Beneath a rose window of delicate stone tracery, and flanked by two long, narrow Gothic windows, the wall decoration with its brilliant colors and gold highlights enriched the austere dignity of this imposing hall where the canons took their repast. During the second decade of the fourteenth century, at the time when much building activity was taking place in the cloisters under Bishop Arnaldo de Barbazán, Juan Pérez of Estella, archdeacon of San Pedro of Osún, had this refectory constructed and Johannes Oliveri was commissioned to paint the retablo.¹⁷

These facts are inscribed on the base of the predella: *Anno Domini M.CCC.XXX. ego dominus Iohannes Petri de Stella archidiaconus Sancti Petri de Osun fuit operarius ecclesie Beate Marie Pampilonensis fecit fieri istud refectorium et Iohannes Oliveri depinxit istud opus.*

The artist is now known to us by name, but further identification has not been established. When the retablo was first exhibited in Pamplona in 1947 after its removal from the refectory, the theory was advanced that a certain Joan Oliver, who was working for the king, Pedro IV the Ceremonious, at Barcelona in 1364, might be the unknown Juan Oliverio.¹⁸ However, despite the coincidence of names and the proximity of dates, there was not enough evidence to identify the Juan Oliverio of Pamplona with the artist who was employed at the Barcelona court thirty-four years later. This conclusion was based on the awareness that an artist of such stature would have left his mark on the Catalan School of the mid-fourteenth century, a school extremely sensitive to foreign influences. Because there are no works of Joan Oliver known at present, the identification of these painters must remain problematical until further evidence is available. It was suggested, at the same time, that the name of the refectory master could be translated readily into either French or English, but French painting proper was felt to bear little relationship to

14. M. L. van Puyvelde, "Nouvelles recherches sur l'influence de *Meditationes vitae Christi* sur l'art de la fin du moyen âge," *Actes du Congrès d'histoire de l'art, Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, II, pt. 2, 1921, pp. 260-274.

15. E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIII^e siècle en France*, 7th ed., Paris, 1931, pp. 14-21; idem, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1925, pp. 33-83.

16. J. Evans, *Art in Mediaeval France*, London, 1948, pp. 41-44, 47, 98; N. C. Brooks, "The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy," *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, VII, no. 2, May 1921, pp. 8-30.

17. Arnaldo de Barbazán, Bishop of Pamplona, 1317-1356.

The refectory is now called Chapel of S. Francisco Xavier. See J. Altadill, "Provincia de Navarra," F. Carreras y Candi, ed., *Geografía general del país Vasco-Navarro*, Barcelona, 1918, I, pp. 350-351.

18. The theories regarding the place of origin of Johannes Oliveri were set forth briefly in the catalogue for the Exhibition of Mural Paintings from Navarre when the retablo was exhibited in Pamplona in 1947 under the auspices of the Institución Príncipe de Viana (Catalogue, *Exposición de pinturas murales de Navarra*, Pamplona, Príncipe de Viana, 1947, p. 6).

the Navarrese work, whereas English miniatures of about 1300 resemble it more closely in style.

Since the date corresponds to a period of extraordinary artistic expansion in England and of English domination over large areas in the south of France, there is the interesting hypothesis that a John Oliver, or possibly even a Jean Olivier, was in the service of the kings of Navarre. Whether his knowledge was gained in England or under English masters on the continent, the master of the refectory retable was cognizant of the courtly elegance and dramatic power of the Westminster School of Henry III, the humanized figures and softened drapery treatment of the later Court School of Edward II and, finally, the intricacy and elaboration of the East Anglian Psalters. The following study of the composition may contribute to the eventual solution of the problem.

The central part of the retable is divided horizontally into three zones. The uppermost section contains the *Flagellation* and the *Via Crucis*; the second represents the *Crucifixion*; the third has the *Entombment* and the *Holy Women at the Sepulcher*, with the *Risen Christ* on the right. Four escutcheons, flanked by figures of musicians, and the inscription which dates the work appear in the predella. The composition is bordered on the right and left by narrow panels which contain Biblical figures holding phylacteries.

The action takes place before a light, neutral background, and the first and third zones are framed by a series of pointed trefoil arches of slender proportions, with single colonnettes dividing the scenes. Gothic niches contain the figures in the outer panels. The mural is enriched by foliate *rinçeaux* of such refinement as to be reminiscent of the flowing designs of leafy sprays that enliven the bar-borders of French and, more especially, English manuscripts of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Framing the outer edges of the side panels and the top of the retable is an ornamental foliage design of neutral-colored ivy leaves set against a dark green background. A more delicately rendered version of the same three-lobed ivy leaf runs across the top of the predella, this time in vermillion on an ivory background, with additional clusters of berries (or grapes) at regular intervals. A third variation of the decorative border separates the inner sides of the panels from the central composition in a running floral pattern of five-petaled, green-edged flowers attached to a slender red stem on a pale neutral band.¹⁹ Gothic inscriptions are placed at the base of the zones, but, whether legend or vines, these borders are constantly overlapped by the pointed sandals of the figures, who, by this method, liberate themselves from the background and assure the full action of their movements.

The composition is animated by the variety and freedom of these movements against the non-representative, two-dimensional background with its architectural frame. The figures follow the Gothic formula in being slender and weightless, but their proportions, as well as their draperies, are rendered naturalistically and the graceful Gothic curve is everywhere apparent.

The color is applied to a thin coating of gesso which was originally attached to the brick wall in the refectory. This smooth and light surface added to the brilliance of the colors, which are breath-taking, and to the delicacy of workmanship. The green and red sprays of leaves and flowers and the gold tracery and crockets along the continuous rows of arches against vivid red spandrels reveal immediately the imagination and masterly technical skill of the artist, which will be further in evidence in the scenes themselves.

In the *Flagellation*, on the upper left (Fig. 2), Christ stands in the center, his arms folded and bound at the wrists. He wears a gold nimbus crossed with red and a light blue loincloth edged with gold. His attitude, achieved through the Gothic swaying curve, brings to mind the words

19. The degree of naturalism and the variety of these foliate designs approximate the decorative borders of the contemporary East Anglian School. The line-and-leaf patterns in red and green are characteristic of the frame-borders in the psalters from this school where the variety and richness of ornament was especially prominent, e.g., Ormesby Psalter, Douce MS 366, Bodleian Library; Arundel 83 II, British

Museum; Gorleston Psalter, the Dyson Perrins Collection, Malvern. The French border of the early fourteenth century manuscripts relied almost exclusively on a graceful, symmetrical arrangement of the conventional three-lobed "ivy leaf" (J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 2nd ed., London, 1912, pp. 223, 242; O. E. Saunders, *English Illumination*, Florence, 1928, p. 100).

in the *Meditationes*: "and so stant he naked byfore hem alle/ that fairest among man of alle children that euere were borne/ takyng paciently of the foulest wrecches the hardeste and moste byttre strokes of scourges."²⁰ The flesh is marked with red as a result of the lashes already received. The two executioners brandish thonged ropes with gestures that are more dramatic than violent, but their sharply turned heads relate to the intercommunication of the figures of this period. The contours, outlined against the light background, emphasize the red and light purple of their short tunics and contrasting hose. The gray-haired figure on the left, who holds the rope attached to the wrists of Christ, wears a cowled hood down the front; the robes of the two men are bordered at the hem line, neck, and sleeves with gold, and their girdles are tied in an intricate arrangement.

In the accompanying scene, the *Way of Calvary* (Fig. 3), Christ as the central figure strides forward bearing his cross, almost enveloped by the crowd of soldiers and onlookers, but turns his head and gazes sharply back toward Mary. With her hands she aids in the support of the cross, and returns his intent look. The tension of his gaze and pose is softened by the folds of the long sleeveless tunic he wears. Its vivid red is enhanced by an all-over pattern of a gold-flowered design, the richest costume of the retable. It is as though he still wore the scarlet robe of a king, with which the soldiers had mocked him. The large gold cruciform nimbus denies momentarily the impact of the crown of thorns already in place. Mary's purple mantle lined with red and her blue robe are delicately edged with gold, as are the varied tunics and robes among the onlookers. A further glistening touch is afforded by the varied pole arms which are carried by the soldiers in the rear and silhouetted against the background. The nails and hammer in the hands of the two figures to the right underline Christ's destiny on arrival at Calvary.

The *Crucifixion* (Fig. 4), which occupies the full central zone, reveals more clearly than the other scenes of the cycle the artist's indebtedness to the scholasticism of the thirteenth century. The highly symbolic rendering and the elaboration of symmetry in the composition are offset to a degree by the Gothic naturalism in the figures and in the grouping.

Christ hangs heavily from the cross, the head drooping far to the right and the knees drawn up in the realistic posture of suffering. On the left of the Crucified One, the sponge-bearer thrusts a vinegar-soaked object into his mouth, and on the same side a group of soldiers equipped with swords and shields stand erect, a contrast to the curving, agitated movements of Christ's followers (Fig. 1). In the background, the thieves are bound by cords to their crosses, their arms drawn back and fastened behind them: on the left, the soul of the penitent Dismas is being gathered up to heaven by an angel, and, on the right, a messenger of Satan brusquely snatches the soul out of the mouth of the unredeemed malefactor. Some of the flying angels bare their breasts in anguish, others weep, while the two who catch the Saviour's blood in their chalices shield their eyes from the sight. Above the cross are the titulus, the burning disk of the sun, and the pale full moon, and at the foot rest the skull and crossbones of Adam.

Both color and line are used symbolically to render the suffering on the one side and the determination of the Roman soldiers on the other. Against the pale neutral background, the light-toned figure of Christ on the cross emphasizes his innocence, whereas the angular pose stresses his suffering. The sorrowing group around the Virgin convey their grief through swaying movements and the dark tones of the dominant purple-violets and blues. The erect attitudes of the soldiers are further contrasted by brilliant reds, greens, and lavenders, with their round and triangular shields and swords adding to the light effect. The centurion in the foreground, who holds one of the phylacteries and points to Christ, rests his other hand on the hilt of his sword as he turns his head abruptly away from the scene being enacted in order to communicate with his

20. St. Bonaventure, supposed au., *The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, a translation of the Latin work entitled *Meditationes vite Christi*, L. F. Powell, ed., Oxford, 1908, p. 229.

neighbor.²¹ His costume, more elaborate than the others, with a great over-tunic of red slit up the center front and a shoulder cape of light purple, dominates the scene to the right. The faces of the soldiers remain expressionless, but their heads are differentiated by headdresses and coloring. Throughout the scene, the artist, Oliveri, has continued his use of gold in the nimbi and in the borders of the veils, tunics, and mantles, so that the richness of the ensemble is maintained.

The man of the Middle Ages could read the theme of redemption and interpret the doctrinal meaning of this *Crucifixion*. His training in religious thought during the earlier centuries of the era had emphasized the mysticism and dogma of the Biblical story, but now in the Gothic period he required a more realistic rendering of the actual events. Johannes Oliveri has given this narrative form to the symbolism of the Fall and the Redemption and the establishment of the Church through the death of Jesus Christ on the cross.²²

The *Entombment* and the *Resurrection* are depicted immediately beneath the *Crucifixion*, joining these most important tenets of the Christian faith, death and rebirth (Fig. 5). Despite the separate action of these scenes, the zone is unified not only by the architectural frame of Gothic niches but also by the unbroken line of the Holy Sepulcher and the arcade beneath it where the guards are placed. The spirit of the *Meditationes* prevails once more, for, without sacrificing the iconography, Oliveri has returned to the more tender and naturalistic interpretation.²³ Post believes this third zone embodies "the noblest artistic attainment of the cycle."²⁴

In the scene on the left, the body of Christ is being lowered into the tomb. Nicodemus, in a red mantle and tight-sleeved tunic, gives support to Christ's head as he holds the shroud, and Joseph of Arimathea, at the Saviour's feet, reaches across to take the cloth in his right hand. He wears a light purple tunic, and a red mantle is thrown over his far shoulder. Behind the body of Christ are the Virgin Mary, with John, Mary Magdalene, and a third woman. They bend forward, gazing sadly into the face of the dead Jesus, and again John gently shields Mary, with his right arm around her shoulder and his left supporting her clasped hands. The intense blue of the Virgin's robe and the long flowing veil on the third Holy Woman, as well as the ocher tone of John's mantle, are the only colors still present in this group, but the gold of the halos and of the edging of veils and garments remains. Three praying angels appear within the trefoil arches on the upper left, and a fourth, above the head of Christ, descends swinging a censer. A neutralized green, effected by the use of black and red spots superimposed schematically on a brighter green undercoat, extends across the length and breadth of the tomb and dominates the coloring of this lowest section.

The *Resurrection* on the right is separated from the *Entombment* by a gilded colonnette. The Holy Women, carrying golden jars of myrrh, appear behind the open sepulcher, and an angel seated on the edge of the tomb points to the linen and announces the Resurrection. Again their flowing veils retain only traces of the underpainting, but the yellow robe of the angel is clear. To the right, the imposing figure of the Risen Christ, with his light purple mantle lined in red pulled across diagonally, rests against the tomb, his left foot lifted and his right reaching out to the ground. He raises his right hand in blessing and in the other holds a long staff with the triumphal cross on its banner. Behind him stands a second angel. The tomb is raised on slender columns, and fitted into the arches are the guards, in sitting and lying positions. Their varied

21. The two phylacteries of this zone are: *Nunc de cruce et credimus ei* (Matthew 27: 42), and *Vere Filius Dei [e]rat iste* (Matthew 27: 54). Reference to chapter and verse are from the Vulgate, from which the inscriptions were taken, though not always accurately. The inscriptions at the bases of the first and second zones are incomplete. Beneath the *Flagellation* and *Via Crucis* is written: *Dismas medio di-ina, po--tatas egastas*. Beneath the *Crucifixion* is inscribed: *De sompno urgo qu- mundi criminu purgo-- post morte punus surexit trinus -- et unus*.

22. The narrative treatment of the *Crucifixion* "did not find general acceptance until the fifteenth century," according to O. E. Saunders (*History of English Art in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1932, p. 128). Parallels are found in English examples of the minor arts, e.g., the enamel triptych, XIV century, in the Salting Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum (*ibid.*, fig. 84).

23. St. Bonaventure, supposed au., *op.cit.*, ch. XLVI, pp. 251-255.

24. Post, *History of Spanish Painting*, II, p. 111.

postures, particularly those beneath the *Resurrection* who have been overcome by sleep or fear, are rendered with amazing naturalness. The elaboration of details of the mediaeval armor extends from the surcoats and mail to the swords, pole arms, and kite-shaped shields. Silhouetted against red niches, the movements of the soldiers are accentuated by the feet which protrude here and there across the foliate border.

The surface of this lowest zone has suffered perceptibly, probably because its accessibility allowed it to be more easily abused. Also, if this was at one time overpainted as were the upper zones in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, this protection had long since disappeared. Portions of the actual surface are lost, most noticeably around the jaw and beard of Christ and the lower part of the Virgin's face in the *Entombment*. Elsewhere the color of the modeled overpainting has gone, leaving only the flat, pale undertones.

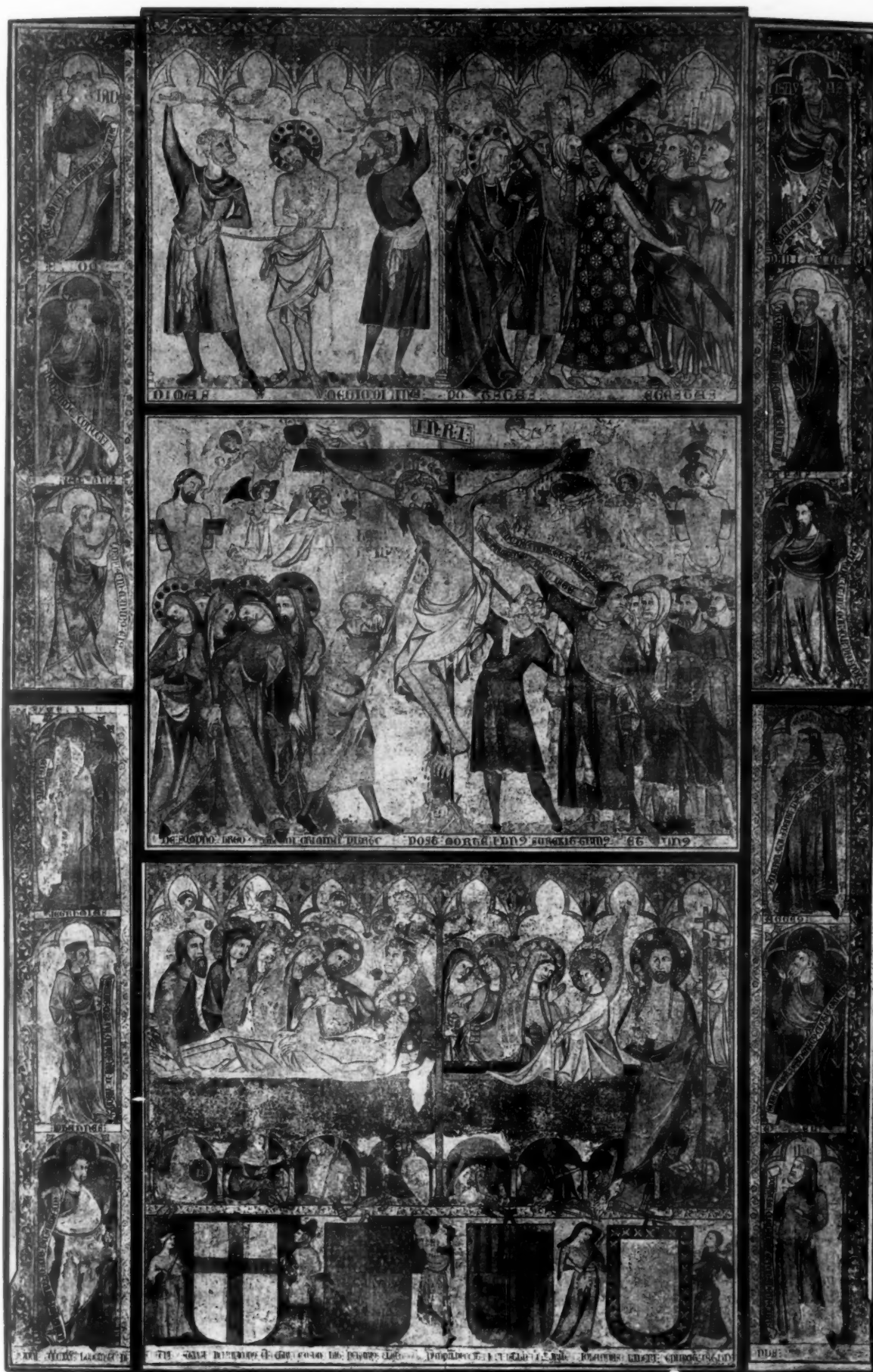
The composition of this portion of the retable has been most successfully handled. It is united not only by the color but also by the repeated rhythms which run across its surface, the trefoil arches, the halos of the holy figures, and the arcade beneath the tomb. This sensitiveness to the value of a repeated motif is substantiated in the undulating curves of the women's attitudes in the *Entombment*, and varied in the group on the right by the alternating rhythm of the angel and the second woman. The movements and the gestures of these figures are rendered with Gothic grace and reveal a restrained emotion. The focal point of this scene is established through the asymmetrical placing of Christ to the far right and the angular delineation of his pose, carefully balanced by the light area of the body of the dead Christ being lowered into the sepulcher.

The predella of the retable contains four escutcheons flanked by musicians (Fig. 5). It is brilliant with the red and gold characteristic of the entire painting, and is further enlivened by the attitudes of the figures garbed in contemporary dress. The shields are realistically suspended on pegs from the foliate border. The first one to the far left, placed against a red background, carries a gold Latin cross on a field of white. The woman to the left plays a fiddle and her companion beats time with a bell. The second escutcheon bears the royal coat of arms of the house of Navarre; the dexter chief and sinister base contain gold chains on a red field, and the remaining quarters have a gold fleur-de-lis design on blue, crossed with a black and red bar.²⁵ The background in this section is of red and white, the remainder of the zone white. Directly in the center, a dancing piper is precariously balanced on one foot. The third coat of arms is that of Gaston II, Count of Foix and Béarn from 1315 until his death in 1343. Red bulls are quartered with vertical red bars on a gold field. The final heraldic design is a simple white shield bordered by a pattern of gold crosses placed diagonally on red. The flanking figures pluck and bow their stringed instruments. The costumes, except for the last one of red and green, are almost colorless. The lively movements of these figures are reminiscent of the acrobats, musicians, and hunters in mediaeval costumes who animate the capitals of the colonnettes within the Pamplona cloister adjoining the refectory.

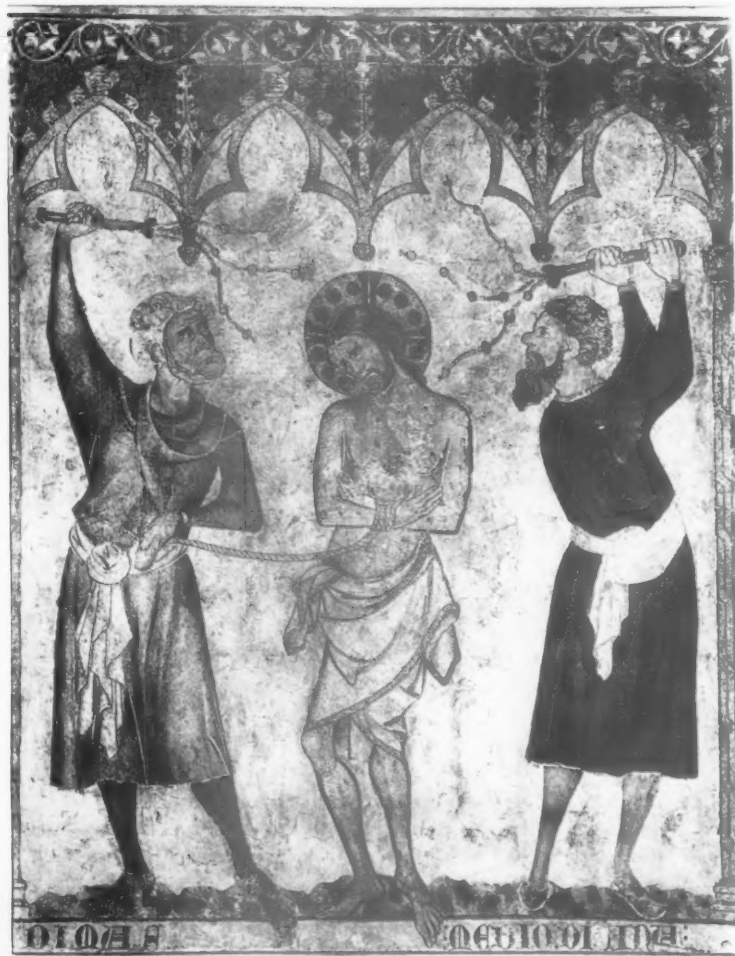
The panels which border the central portion of the retable to right and left contain a series of full-length figures placed one above the other (Fig. 6). They direct their gaze inward to the *Crucifixion* and point toward Christ. In their hands they hold phylacteries inscribed with messages which relate to the cycle of the Passion and further elucidate the dogmatic truths it illustrates. These figures are drawn from both the Old and the New Testaments, but they continue the tradition of the role played by the prophets in the art and the liturgical dramas of the Middle Ages.

They stand beneath Gothic arches which are skillfully designed to avoid monotony. The color scheme of the separate niches is alternated both from top to bottom and from left to right, so that the figure of David, at the top left, stands against a pale neutral background, with the columns, tracery, and crockets of the niche in gold and the spandrels in red. The niche directly beneath and the one at the top right are of red with neutral spandrels, and so it continues. The spiky forms

25. Altadill, "Provincia de Navarra," *Geografía general del país Vasco-Navarro*, I, p. 885.



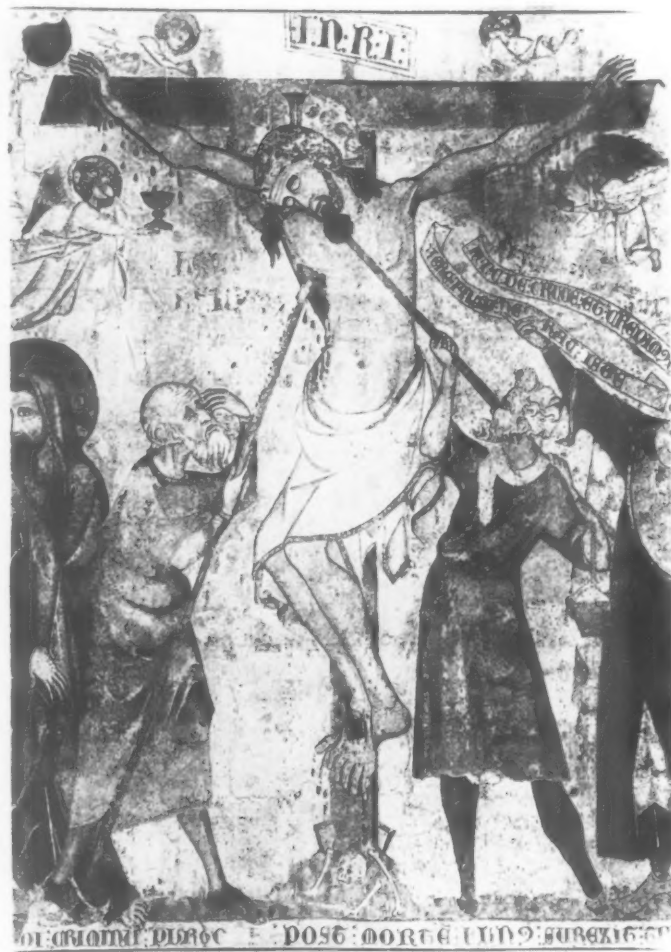
1. Oliveri, Retable from the refectory of the Cathedral of Pamplona.
Pamplona, Provincial Museum of Navarre



2. Retable (detail), *Flagellation*



3. Retable (detail), *Way to Calvary*



4. Retable (detail), *Crucifixion*

of the *rinceaux* which encircle these panels add to the exquisite delicacy of delineation in the niches and the figures. These latter fall within the general Gothic type: slender, weightless bodies, given plasticity through the modeling of their voluminous draperies.

(1) David occupies the first niche on the left. He stands for the ancestor of Christ and his Old Testament prototype, wearing a crown and a green robe covered by a mantle of red. His inscription reads: *Ne corrumpas tigali inscripciones*. According to the Vulgate, it should read: *ne corrumpas* (Psalms 74:1) *in tituli inscriptiones* (Psalms 55, 56, 57, 58, 59:1).²⁶

(2) Solomon, directly beneath David, is likewise ancestor and prototype of Christ. His kingly robes are of blue with a purple cloak. His phylactery is inscribed: *Non tardes contri ip. . .*

(3) Habakkuk, the third figure, is bareheaded and wears a yellow-ocher tunic beneath his red cloak.²⁷ His identifying message is: *Cornua in manibus eius* (Habakkuk 3:4).

(4) Simeon, in the niche below, is clad in a purple mantle and green robe. The surface of the painting is severely damaged, leaving only a portion of the prophetic message which he spoke to Mary: *Ecce posit[us] es[t] hic in ruinam, et in resurrectionem* (Luke 2:34).

(5) Jeremiah, one of the four great prophets, wears the tight-fitting skull cap in which he is traditionally rendered, a plain tunic of light blue, and a pale red cape fastened at the neck with a gold clasp. The phylactery is inscribed: *Cecidit corona capitis nostri: vae nobis, quia peccavimus* (Lamentations 5:16).

(6) St. John the Baptist occupies the last niche on the left. The light purple mantle which is wrapped around his body and shoulders nearly conceals his blue tunic. His message is: *Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccat[um] mundi* (John 1:29).

(7) Isaiah, the second of the four great prophets represented, stands beneath the trefoil arch at the top of the right panel. His yellow hair is uncovered and over his light purple tunic he wears a short blue drapery which is caught across his arms. The scroll carries these words: *Et cum iniquis reputatus est* (Mark 15:28).²⁸

(8) Daniel, another of the great prophets, has a purple skull cap on his white hair, and a red mantle lined with green envelops his figure. His banderole reads: *Cu tenerit sus scorum cessabit unctiura*.

(9) Caiaphas, the high priest, is the third New Testament figure to appear on the panels. His name reads *Capas*, instead of *Caiphas*. He is garbed in a short stole of blue, similar to Isaiah's, and a full purple tunic whose folds show true Gothic elegance. His message relates: *Expediit ut unis moriatur pro populo* (John 11:50).²⁹

(10) The name of Zechariah, the fourth figure on the right, is missing. He wears a close-fitting skull cap under his red-hooded mantle with its long hanging sleeves. His scroll is inscribed: *ECCE REX TUUS veniet [tibi] iustus, et salvator* (Zechariah 9:9).³⁰

(11) Haggai has a short, red-lined blue stole wrapped around his shoulders over a green tunic. His legend repeats the message of Zechariah: *ET VENIET DESIDERATUS cu[n]ctis gentibus* (Haggai 2:8).

(12) Ezekiel is the final figure and the last of the four great prophets depicted. His skull cap is visible from under a cowl, and his garb consists of a light purple over-tunic from which tight-fitting red sleeves protrude. The scroll is inscribed: *Porta h[ec] clausa erit: non aperietur* (Ezekiel 44:2).

26. This inscription is in the descriptive headings of the quoted chapters from the Vulgate and also to be found in the Septuagint. The plural *inscripciones* may be to show that it is from several Psalms.

27. Name reads: --bac-c, from the original *Habacuc*. Scroll inaccurately reads: *coruna in manubus eius*.

28. Scroll erroneously reads: *et clm. . . . quis deputa. . . .*

Cf. *et cum sceleratis reputatis est* (Isaiah 53: 12 with Mark 15: 28).

29. The full Vulgate reference reads: *expedit vobis ut unis moriatur homo pro populo*.

30. The inscription as it reads at present was miscopied and appears on the scroll as follows: *Ecce rex tuus venit iustus et ma-suetus*.

The splendor of these bearded figures dressed in brilliant and variegated robes is further enhanced by the gold edging which Oliveri has employed consistently on the hem lines and sleeves, and at the neck. The sensitive delineation of attitudes and drapery and the refinement of modeling within the silhouetted contours are executed with skill and imagination.

According to the iconographical terminology of the thirteenth century, these solemn characters from the Old and New Testaments are not prophets, but their messages are prophetic and relate to Christ. In proclaiming the dogmatic truths, they continued the symbolic chain so vital to mediaeval theologians and scholars. Their procession in the mystery plays and liturgical dramas was important both for local color and for authentic text. Habakkuk would appear bald and bent, David resplendent in royal robes, and Isaiah and Jeremiah bearded and wearing dalmatics; in answer to their names, they testified to the truths which artists were to inscribe on the phylacteries.³¹ They were arrayed across the façades and porches of churches and cathedrals and were given pictorial form in mediaeval manuscripts, glass, and wall paintings. Eventually, their individuality was sacrificed and their scrolls alone distinguished these worthies. Oliveri has given his figures this interpretation, as offering their prophecies to illustrate the dogma portrayed within the central portion of the retable, and within the limitations of this early fourteenth century iconography he has rendered them with great finesse.

The remarkable technical skill and dexterity of Oliveri are apparent despite the retouching that was necessary after the removal of the altarpiece from the refectory walls. The extraordinarily rich effects of the color scheme, the earth red and vermillion, the deep blues and the sparingly used yellow-ocher, are given added luminosity through the use of gold. The firm, true strokes of pale red-ocher with which the artist lightly sketched the composition on the gesso surface are still visible in places. The influence of manuscripts may be felt in the careful execution of the painting and in the delicacy of the details, particularly the *rinceaux*, orphrey, and brocades, but the imagination and true artistry of the master are apparent not only in his technical skill, but also in the refinement and beauty of his stylistic interpretation and iconographical scheme.

III

The altarpiece of Johannes Oliveri from the refectory of the cathedral at Pamplona bears the full imprint of late mediaeval art. The great religious theme of the Easter cycle has been sensitively rendered, both didactically and emotionally, and reveals the artist's indebtedness to scholars and theologians of past centuries, as well as to the humanists of the High Gothic period.

Iconographically, the retable embodies the climax of divine strife in the highly symbolic Crucifixion. As Jacobus de Varagine recounts: "... by the passion and resurrection of Jesu Christ he [man] came again from the night of sin unto the day of grace."³² The emotionalism of the *Meditationes* is found in the tenderness of the body of Christ, the seething crowd, the suffering on the cross, and the sublime sorrow of the Virgin, symbols of a faith which embraced the triumph over suffering and the immortality of the soul.

Stylistically, the wall painting of Oliveri shows the fully developed Gothic character. The composition follows the established principles of axuality and of dynamic patterns, through the interrelated horizontals and verticals.³³ The architectural framework of trefoil arcades and niches and of delicate foliate borders supplies the empty background against which the action of the figures is realized. These figures, whose movements express the grace and freedom of increasing naturalism, are rendered as slender, almost weightless forms, important for their curvilinear

31. Evans, *Art in Mediaeval France*, p. 98.

32. Jacobus de Varagine, *The Golden Legend, or, Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*, London, 1931, 1, p. 87.

33. The formulation of the principles used here is drawn from Professor Erwin Panofsky's teaching, at New York University.

silhouettes, both singly and in groups. The areas within these linear contours are enlivened by the modeling of drapery from light to dark and by the remarkable power of the individual expressions. The fixed looks and the turned heads of the conversational figures add to the dramatic effect of the ensemble.

Closely connected both in content and time with this example of Gothic art from the refectory is the retable of the *Crucifixion* now on the high altar of the cathedral in Pamplona.³⁴ The symbolic *Crucifixion* in the upper two-thirds of the panel is surrounded by twenty-three quatrefoils containing figures who hold inscribed phylacteries, and beneath, arranged under three Gothic arches, a scene is depicted which suggests "the bishop of Pamplona with members of his court or . . . an allegory of the church."³⁵ The general composition and particularly the format of the quatrefoils call to mind the medallion arrangement found in French art of thirteenth century glazing and fourteenth century manuscripts. Post and Bertaux have felt the strong influence of France on the artist of this panel painting (ca. 1300).³⁶ The grace and decorative beauty of the ensemble and the delicacy and purity of line and silhouette are characteristics shared by both retables. But, whereas the high altar panel painting is worked in a miniaturist's style and reflects the French manuscripts of the period in the artificiality of the figures (the childish features, the exaggerated sway, and the fragile elegance), the Oliveri wall painting is characterized by the solemn and monumental quality of its figures, the emphatic gestures, the vigorous postures, and the richness of ornamental detail which distinguished the English school of this period.

More closely akin stylistically, therefore, are certain examples of wall and panel paintings originating in the Court School of Westminster during the late thirteenth century in England, and of manuscripts coming from the East Anglian School of the early fourteenth century. Henry III (1216-1272) gathered together both English and foreign artists to decorate Westminster Abbey, and enriched the school through the contributions resulting from this association. Though some French influence was exerted on the English court art, it is interesting to note, as Tristram has pointed out, that the most important foreigners in the king's pay were Peter of Spain and William Florentin, and that England not only received but gave as well, and exercised at times a considerable influence abroad.³⁷ The paintings from the reign of Edward I (1272-1307) ordered for Westminster Palace and elsewhere have not survived, but the remnants which are extant of the works commissioned by Edward II (1307-1327) contribute to the prestige of the school.

The paintings for these royal patrons are remarkable for their courtly elegance, their dramatic power, and their sensitiveness of line, as may be seen in the painted panel (ca. 1270) at present in the south choir of Westminster Abbey, and in the *Crucifixion* from the painted predella to the altarpiece in St. Faith's Chapel (ca. 1270) in the south transept.³⁸ The full length St. Peter from the panel may be compared to the Biblical figures which border the refectory painting, as well as those within the scenes of the Easter cycle, because of the rhythmical line, the tall, graceful figure treatment, and the handling of voluminous drapery. These characteristics of the Westminster School are found in the later sedilia (ca. 1308) at the south side of the choir in the Abbey, which was painted for Edward II and conjecturally assigned to Master Thomas, son of Master Walter of Durham.³⁹ The three figures which remain, Henry III, Edward II, and St. Ed-

34. Tempera on wooden panel. Size: 2' 6½" x 4' 1½". The retable was cleaned and restored in 1948 by the Prado Museum in Madrid, according to José Uranga (Pamplona, 1950). For a reproduction before cleaning, see E. Bertaux, *Exposición retrospectiva de arte—1908*, Zaragoza, 1910, p. 43, pl. 5.

35. Post, *History of Spanish Painting*, II, pp. 112-114.

36. Bertaux, *Exposición retrospectiva de arte*, pp. 41-42; P. de Madrazo y Kuntz, *Navarra y Logroño*, Barcelona,

1886, II, pp. 295-297.

37. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting*, II, pp. 3, 84, 453-456.

38. *ibid.*, pp. 124-148, pls. 2-6, 9; Borenius and Tristram, *English Medieval Painting*, pls. 22-24.

39. *ibid.*, pp. 18-19, pls. 21, 40-42; Saunders, *History of English Art in the Middle Ages*, p. 168, figs. 52-53. For Master Thomas, see note 7 above. On the sub-base of the tomb of Edmund Crouchback (1241-1296), at the north side of the

ward the Confessor, show the softened, humanized representation of the later Westminster tradition. Their attitudes are less rigid and the movements of the draperies more varied than in the earlier works, approaching more closely, therefore, the interpretation given to the refectory figures of Oliveri.

A reasonable source of inspiration for the rich colors and decoration of the retablo at Pamplona appears in the East Anglian School, an expansion of the court style of Edward II into the eastern counties during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.⁴⁰ Though, as in the case of the Westminster School, conclusive, factual evidence that might establish the connection between the refectory retablo and the East Anglian work is still lacking, there is the unusual appearance of the shield of Navarre in an early example from this district, the Ormesby Psalter at Oxford.⁴¹ Stylistically, the Oliveri mural and several of the outstanding psalters from this group have much in common. Both are characterized by deep and harmonious color schemes with plentiful use of gold, a luxuriance of ornamental details, and a high quality of execution. These features, in addition to the characteristics of the Court School, e.g., the fluency of line, the movement of the figures, and the treatment of full drapery, are represented in such early works of the East Anglian school of illumination as the Arundel 83 11 Psalter (before 1300) in the British Museum, and in the Gorleston manuscript (1299-1306) in the Dyson Perrins Collection at Malvern.⁴² The varied *rincaux* of the Navarrese altarpiece appear to reflect the color, variety, and naturalism of the decorative borders found in the psalters. Since the figure painting of the school in general, and of the later psalters in particular, is extremely dainty and minute, with a tendency to exaggeration of gestures and expression, it suggests the style of some contemporary French manuscripts and does not readily correspond to the Oliveri conception.⁴³ However, in the earlier psalters, contemporaneous to the Court School, the figures have greater weight and dignity, a solemnity of expression, and a monumental quality which deny French influence and indicate a closer affinity to the painting at Pamplona.⁴⁴ It is possible, therefore, to believe that the style of the Oliveri retablo found its inspiration in the work of the Westminster masters and also in the final expression of their art in the East Anglian School.

The revaluation of the mural painting from the refectory of the cathedral at Pamplona is a rewarding task. While it was hidden by overpainting, an accurate analysis was virtually impossible. Now, for the first time, since its removal to the Provincial Museum, an extensive and exact examination of the content and style has become possible, and has confirmed the exceptional merit of this work by Johannes Oliveri. In it the iconographical conception of the Passion of Christ, as set forth by the theologians and scholars of the late Middle Ages, has been given artistic expression and a humanized interpretation. Stylistically, the influence of the English Court School and its later exponents in East Anglia seems apparent, but the problems of the nationality of the

presbytery in Westminster Abbey, are painted ornamental designs and a series of ten knights which bear a close resemblance to the *rincaux* and the guards of the Oliveri altarpiece. The richness of the foliate patterns and the extraordinary vivacity and natural movements of the figures emphasize this connection. The paintings are "probably attributable" to the same artist or workshop as the sedilia, according to Tristram (Borenus and Tristram, *op.cit.*, p. 19, pls. 43-44; Tristram, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 153-154, supplementary pl. 7). It is of interest to note that Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, and second son of Henry III, married, in 1275, Blanche of Artois, widow of Henry II (d. 1274), Count of Champagne and King of Navarre.

40. Artists were not confined to manuscripts, for fragments of paintings (ca. 1300) on the vaulting of the Ante-Reliquary Chapel over the north ambulatory of the cathedral in Norwich and murals in the Church of St. Andrew at Gorleston show evidence of wall painting from the same school (Borenus and

Tristram, *op.cit.*, p. 16, pls. 36-37; Saunders, *English Illumination*, I, pp. 93, 96).

41. Ormesby Psalter, Douce MS 366, Bodleian Library, Oxford, section 5, line-ending fol. 60a (S. C. Cockerell, *Two East Anglian Psalters at the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, Oxford, 1926, p. 30).

42. For reproductions of the Arundel 83 11 Psalter, see S. C. Cockerell, *Gorleston Psalter*, London, 1907, pl. 21; Saunders, *op.cit.*, II, pls. 106-107. For the Gorleston Psalter, see Cockerell, *op.cit.*, pls. 1, 4, 5, 12, 13. Other East Anglian manuscripts which warrant comparison are the Ormesby Psalter, reproduced in Cockerell, *Two East Anglian Psalters*, Ormesby pls. 1-35; the Bromholm Psalter, Ashmole MS 1523, Bodleian Library, reproduced in *ibid.*, Bromholm pls. 1-10; Queen Mary's Psalter, Royal MS 2 B. vii, British Museum, reproduced in G. Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter*, London, 1912.

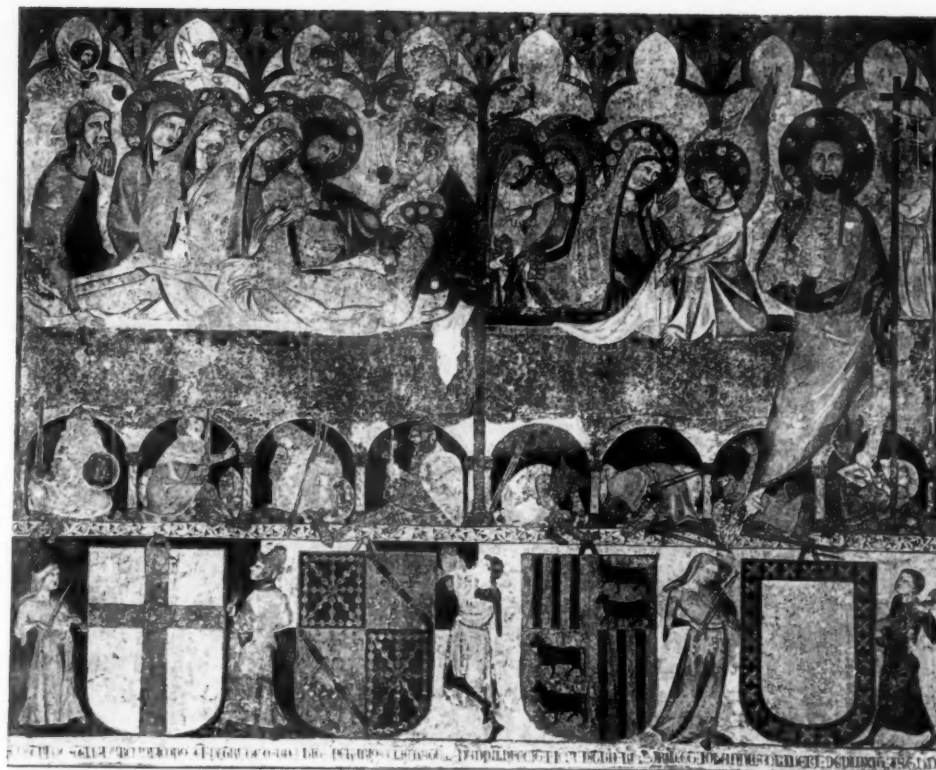
43. Saunders, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 94-95.

44. *ibid.*, pp. 103-104.

artist or the means of transmitting the influences remain unsolved. The present discussion and comparisons may have opened channels which, it is hoped, one day will lead to more conclusive evidence. In the meantime, Johannes Oliveri, whose superior merit had already been recognized in the anonymous and overpainted retable in the refectory of the cathedral at Pamplona, has been confirmed as a master by the discovery of his name and by the full disclosure of his masterpiece.

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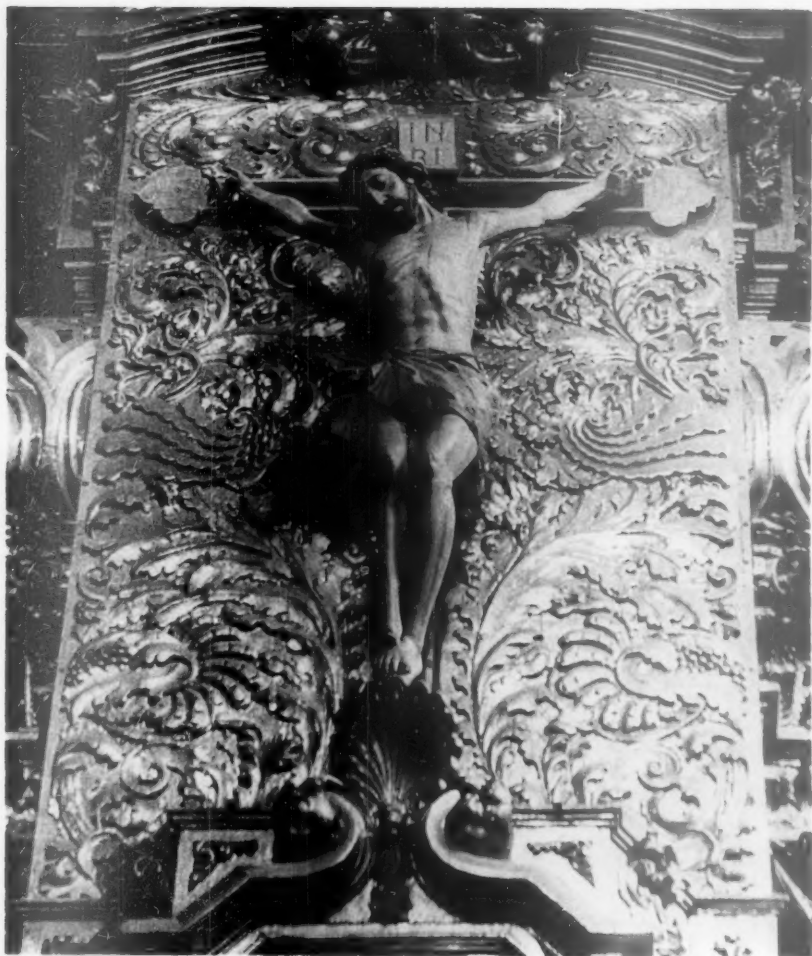




5. Retable (detail),
Entombment, Resur-
rection, and predella.



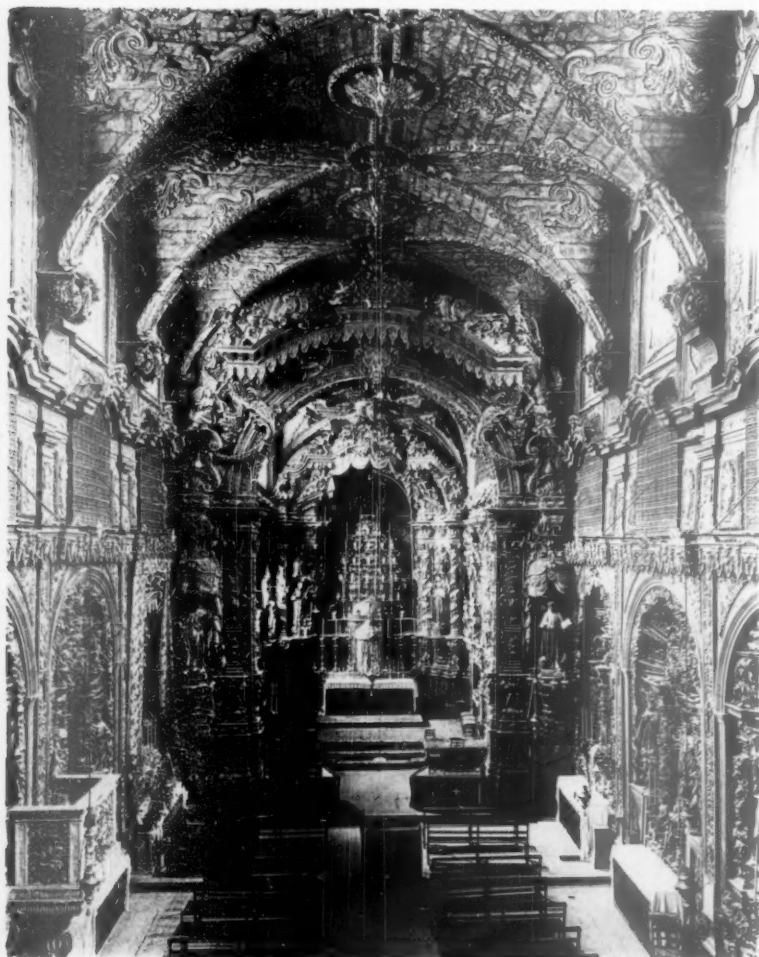
6. Retable (detail),
border panels



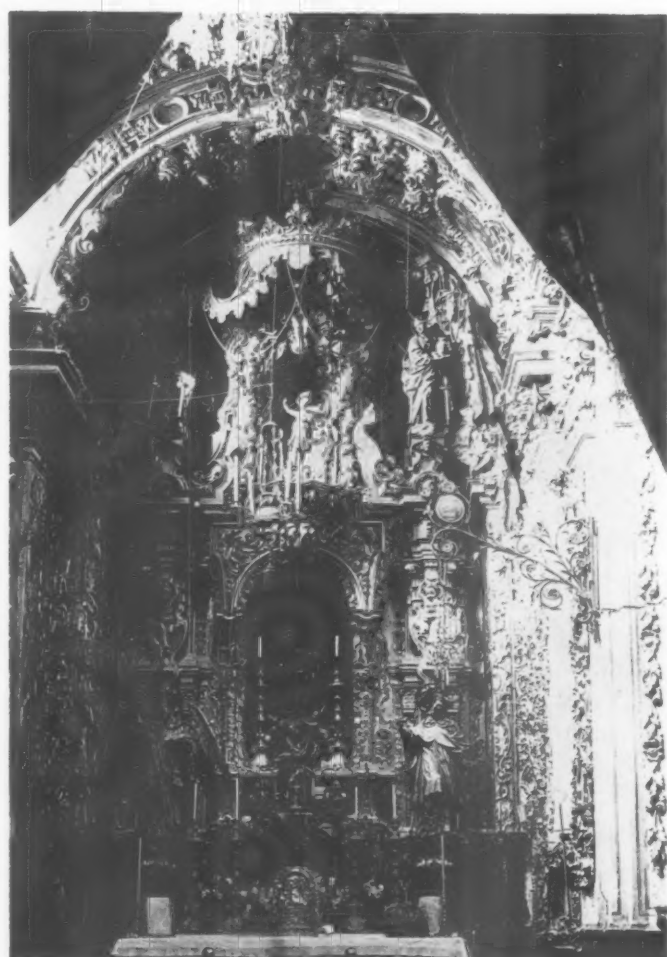
1. Querétaro, Mexico. Santa Rosa, Crucifixion Retable (1) (detail)



2. Querétaro, Mexico. Santa Clara, La Soledad Retable (1) (detail of lower left, showing "ornamental niche-pilaster")



3. Oporto, Portugal. Santa Clara, interior (Beleza Photo)



4. Seville, Spain, Santa Catalina, Retablo mayor in the Sagrario

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY RETABLES OF THE BAJÍO, MEXICO:

The Querétaro Style¹

JOSEPH A. BAIRD

THE history of the retable can be traced back to mediaeval times, the richest early development in Europe of this great screen behind the altar being found in the late Gothic period.² Spain manifested particular interest in the retable, and one can trace a gradual change in form from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, running through all the major phases of style in Western art of those centuries. By the late seventeenth century the retable had also reached a high development in Mexico. Throughout the colonial period, the most important ideas and many of the finest designers of Spain were richly received in Mexico. From the sixteenth to the early eighteenth century, the development in both countries was more or less correlated; after that time there was remarkable originality in both design and execution in Mexico.

In Spain the chief centers of style after 1650 were Salamanca-Madrid, Seville, and Granada. The Churriguera family³ brought to central and western Spain a monumental retable composition articulated with twisted columns (*Salomónicas*⁴). This type of retable reveals a shift in emphasis from the multi-leveled compositions of the period from 1500 to 1650; its importance is also apparent in Seville, where there is a galaxy of large retables which mirror the Baroque *bravura* practiced by the Churriguera in Salamanca and Madrid. The focal figure of western Andalusia after 1690 was Gerónimo Balbás.⁵ For the Baroque, twisted column he substituted a Manneristic

1. The present article is drawn from the author's doctoral thesis, *The 18th Century Retable in the South of Spain, Portugal and Mexico*, submitted in April 1951 to Harvard University, and now deposited in Widener Library, Cambridge, Mass. This thesis includes a comprehensively illustrated text, and an illustrated catalogue of the principal monuments of the period (largely ecclesiastic), with a discussion of such features as façades and important interior fittings not mentioned in the present study.

The many acknowledgments indicated in this kind of research, particularly to scholars and clerics in Spain and Portugal, will be found in the preface to the thesis proper. I should like, however, to express my appreciation here to Señores Don Manuel Toussaint, Justino Fernández, Francisco de la Maza, and Heinrich Berlin of Mexico City; to Don Ignacio Herrera Tejeda in Querétaro; to Mr. John McAndrew, Mr. R. C. Taylor of Chelshfield, England, Mr. and Mrs. Pal Kelemen, and Dr. Robert C. Smith; and to my Harvard thesis committee, especially Professor John P. Coolidge.

Photographs, unless otherwise specified, are by the author. Robert C. Smith and Elizabeth Wilder's excellent *A Guide to the Art of Latin America* (Washington, Library of Congress, 1948) provides a full survey of bibliography to the date of publication. The most significant additions to the Mexican field since that time have been Francisco de la Maza, *Retablos dorados de Nueva España*, Mexico City, Ediciones Mexicanas, 1950 (No. 9 in the series *Enciclopedia mexicana de arte*); E. Wilder Weismann, *Mexico in Sculpture*, Cambridge, Mass., 1950; and Pal Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America*, New York, 1951. References to periodicals of recent date will be found in subsequent footnotes.

2. Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, Munich, 1924. Vol.

II, section 5, pp. 277-544, is devoted to the retable.

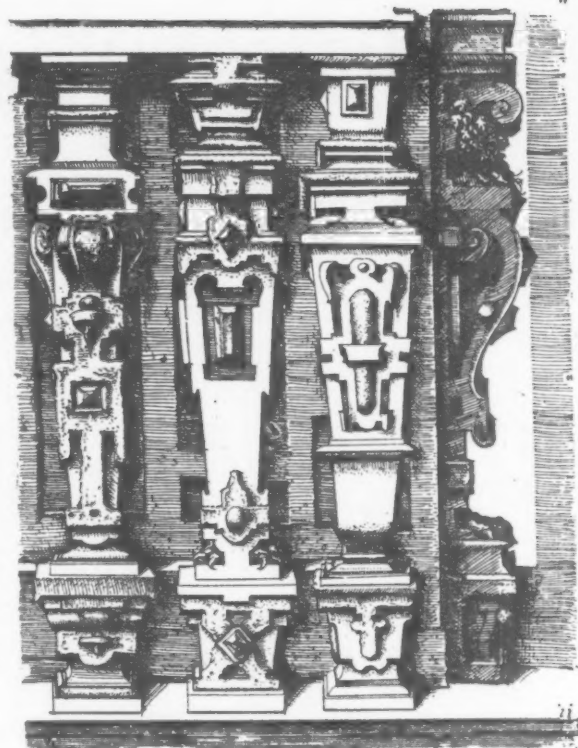
3. See R. C. Taylor, "Francisco Hurtado and His School," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXII, 1950, pp. 26-31, and particularly note 28.

4. So called because of its legendary association with the Temple of Solomon; the spelling is corrupted to *Salomón* in Spanish.

5. Balbás is a still impalpable figure in Hispano-Mexican art history. He must have been born about 1670, as his major recorded work in Spain dates in the early years of the eighteenth century. His Sagrario retable in the Cathedral of Seville has been replaced with an earlier work by Francisco de Ribas and Pedro Roldán, and other work in Spain is not at present documented. Close to his style is the *retablo mayor* in San Lorenzo, Cádiz, possibly executed before he sailed for Mexico about 1718. In Mexico, in addition to his work on the Altar de los Reyes in the Cathedral of Mexico City (which was not gilded until 1743), he was associated with a number of other projects, including the *ciprés* and the installation of the costly metal balustrades for the *vía del crujía* in the cathedral, and three side altars (retables) in the Capilla de Zuleta of San Francisco, Mexico City (the latter now destroyed); cf. H. Berlin, "Salvador de Ocampo," *The Americas*, April 1946, p. 418, note 9. He was also responsible for the *retablo mayor* of the Church of the Third Order, in Mexico City; cf. *Gaceta de México*, No. 60, November 1732: "El 9 se dedicó en la Iglesia del Tercer Orden . . . el insigne Principal Retablo . . . costó de más de veinte mil pesos y se ha hecho a esmeros del célebre Artífice, D. Gerónimo de Balbás." This latter work must have been as ambitious as Balbás' other great projects, since its cost is approximately the same as that of the Altar de los Reyes, which ran to over 18,000 pesos. Manuel Tous-

column, the *estípite*,⁶ as the main articulating feature of the retable (text fig. 1). His work had tremendous influence. Among those who practiced this style were Pedro Duque Cornejo,⁷ a distinguished sculptor-designer, and Felipe Fernández del Castillo.⁸ Fernández del Castillo carried out many of the non-architectonic implications of Duque Cornejo's lush decorative style; and, after 1750 especially, one notes a gradual dissolution of the formerly powerful architectural organization of the retable. This dissolution of structure is less noticeable in Spain, however, than in Mexico.

In the area around Granada, the major figure of the early eighteenth century was Francisco Hurtado Izquierdo.⁹ Hurtado, like Balbás, inspired a large group of designers in his circle (Teodosio Sánchez de Rueda, et al.). More distinctly Baroque in spirit than Balbás (who revived motifs popular in sixteenth century northern Mannerism), Hurtado nevertheless was surprisingly unarchitectural in many of his most important retable commissions. The one single monument of this area which most perfectly demonstrates the



1. Proto-estípite (From Wendel Dietterlin, *Architectura de constitutione symmetria ac proportione quinque columnarum*, Augsburg, 1655, pl. 11)

saint (*Arte colonial en México*, Mexico City, 1948, p. 358) states that Balbás returned to Spain: "pues en 1761 Jerónimo de Balbás prestó en Sevilla el proyecto para un ostensorio de la catedral" (no source is cited for this information). Balbás apparently was only able to create one major retable design (like José de Churriguera, the younger), which he repeated in all his important commissions. The name is spelled variously Jerónimo or Gerónimo Balbás, Barbás, Balbáz.

6. A Manneristic column or pilaster, made up of a definite canon of elements. The lower part consists of a base, moldings, and inverted obelisk. Above this, there is a series of rounded and squared blocks, separated by narrow moldings and decorated with medallions and applied moldings. Above is a Corinthian-esque capital, an entablature with triple or double fascia in the architrave, and occasionally brackets in the cornice. The word is apparently derived from the Latin *stipes*, *stipitis*: cf. *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada*, xxii, p. 280. The 1554 Mexican edition (published by Juan Pablos) of Aristotle's *Dialectica resolutio*, using the same factotum block as a frontispiece which had appeared in the Whitechurch version of the *Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1549), has proto-estípites in the herm bases of the plate. Although its origin is traced to Michelangelo (cf. Taylor, "Hurtado," note 37), it is more explicitly developed in the ornamental plates of the sixteenth century northern Mannerist, Wendel Dietterlin, from whence it comes to Spain; cf. W. Dietterlin, *Architectura de constitutione symmetria ac proportione quinque columnarum*, pls. 11, 51 (also my text fig. 1). For the use of the *estípite* in the seventeenth century in Spain, see A. Sancho Corbacho, *Dibujos arquitectónicos del siglo XVII*, Seville, 1947, figs. 89 and 90. Although *estípite*-like columns appear on the tabernacle of José de Churriguera's *retablo mayor* for San Estebán, Salamanca, of 1693, and at about the same date on a tabernacle of the *camarin* at Nuestra Señora de la Victoria, Málaga, certainly the first appearance of the developed *estípite* in Spain is to be connected with Gerónimo Balbás.

It was Balbás who probably brought the *estípite* to Mexico;

cf. Toussaint, *Arte colonial*, p. 294: "El introductor del *estípite* en la Nueva España parece haber sido Jerónimo de Balbás. . . . Pronto la nueva forma se adapta a la Colonia, y así vemos pilastras-estípites en la portada del antiguo arzobispado, fechada en 1745, en las puertas de la iglesia del Colegio de Niñas, muy simples, que datan de 1744, ambos ejemplos en la capital." There are earlier instances of the *estípite* in Mexico than those mentioned by Sr. Toussaint; cf. the following extract from the *Gaceta de México*, No. 34, September 1730: "México: El 8 la Cofradía de San Juan Nepomuzano, fuera del grande luzimiento conque celebró a su Santo Protector, le dedicó un hermoso Retablo, que costó mil y doscientos pesos; y se compone de Soclo, Banco, y Columnas Salomónicas de una cuerda, Cornisas, y Sotabanco, Nicho con Imágenes de Talla, y Remates de Estípites, Tarxas, y demás revestimientos que pide para la hermosura del Arte."

Even more important is the copper engraving in a book entitled *Mano religiosa del M.R.P. Fr. Joseph Cillero*, which contains the four sermons preached at the time of dedication of three retables for the sacristy of the Convento de la Asunción (de San Francisco) at Toluca (the dedication date was December 8, 1729). The engraving shows a retable with very developed *estípites*; and even more remarkable is the appearance of a pair of tiered *faldoncitos* (see my note 57) in the lower center of the retable—a motif which one usually associates with Lorenzo Rodríguez, and not with Balbás, who undoubtedly inspired the *estípites* on these retables. Moreno Villa (*La escultura mexicana colonial*, Mexico City, 1942, p. 82) says these retables were by Felipe de Ureña. Ureña came of a family of Mexico City retable designers and craftsmen; see "Printing in Mexico During the XVIIIth Century," *Mexican Art and Life*, No. 7, July 1939. For an illustration of the *estípite* in Mexico, cf. my Fig. 10.

7. See Taylor, "Hurtado," note 135.

8. cf. my note 23.

9. See Taylor, "Hurtado," pp. 31-40.

rising popularity of Balbás' Mannerism is the Sacristy of the Cartuja in Granada. Perhaps originally planned by Hurtado,¹⁰ it nevertheless shows a distinct imprint of the fantasy of Balbás' ornament. Its final (present) form is the result of at least three or four generations of revisions, and one can trace with considerable accuracy, here, the changes in taste of the eighteenth century.

To the west of Granada, in central Andalusia, a distinctive retable composition developed which is characterized by pronounced interrelation of various levels.¹¹ The formative ideas for this type had come from Hurtado,¹² but they were carried out in a wide variety of ornamental styles from 1710 on. It is this type of composition which was particularly utilized for the superb late Rococo works of Seville, about 1770. The most important name in this connection is Cayetano Acosta, whose work combines certain reminiscences of Balbás and Cornejo with the more fashionable *rocaille* motifs, popular in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Without question, though, Francisco Xavier Pedraxas represents the highest refinement of Spanish Rococo; his work is seen not only in his native Priego (province of Córdoba), but also in Granada.¹³

In the extreme southwest corner of Andalusia, in Jerez and Cádiz, this interest in Rococo was early tempered with a resurgent classicism. Similarly, in the east of Spain, along the coast in Murcia and Valencia, the delicacy of the Rococo was combined with the stringent architectural purity of Neo-Classicism.

Portugal is an area apart. There was relatively little interrelation between this country and Spain in the period from 1650 to 1780. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the twisted column was popular, but the composition of Portuguese retables, often framed with boxes and vitrines, was not based directly on anything Hispanic. In the later eighteenth century, the classicistic column came into favor, particularly under the impetus of the Italianate classicism affected in court circles after 1755.¹⁴

It was, however, in Mexico that the most lavish exploitation of the retable was to be seen in the eighteenth century. Following early in the formal and ornamental footsteps of Spain, especially after Gerónimo Balbás came to Mexico to execute one of his major works, Mexican artists did not servilely imitate. Under the expert guidance of Lorenzo Rodríguez,¹⁵ Hispanic by birth

10. cf. *ibid.*, p. 39. Taylor deduces this from a brief entry in the "Libro de Becerro" of the Cartuja, which states that permission was given for the construction of a Sacristy and the side chapels of the Sagrario in 1713. I find little of Hurtado in the Sacristy, even though it is bracketed in 1713 with his side chapels for the Sagrario. The Sacristy design was certainly executed in a spirit wholly alien to Hurtado's concepts of design.

11. Especially well seen in the *retablos mayores* of San Francisco, Córdoba, the parochial church at Doña Mencía, San Gil at Ecija, the Colegiata at Osuna, and San Juan de Dios, Granada.

12. Particularly from his retable of Santiago in Granada cathedral, designed in 1707.

13. See R. C. Taylor, "Rococo in Spain," *Architectural Review* (England), July 1952.

14. See Robert C. Smith, "The Portuguese Wood-carved Retable, 1600-1750," *Belas Artes* (Lisbon), 1950, pp. 14-56.

15. The fullest characterization of this master's style occurs in H. Berlin, "Three Master Architects in New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXVII, 1947, pp. 377-381. Cf. also Aline Louchheim, "The Church Façades of Lorenzo Rodríguez," an unpublished Master's thesis for New York University. Romero de Terreros (Marqués de San Francisco) has published the important "carta de examen" of Lorenzo Rodríguez in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones estéticas* (Mexico City), No. 15, pp. 105-108. This document asserts that Rodríguez was born in Gaudix ("natural que dijo ser de la ciudad de Gaudix, en el Reino de Granada") and that he was thirty-six at the time of the examination (August 1740). The death date of Rodríguez is probably 1774, al-

though Manuel Toussaint asserts that Rodríguez was still alive and working in 1782 (cf. Toussaint's article on the Cathedral of Mexico City, *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones estéticas*, No. 3, pp. 5-20). The works attributed to Rodríguez vary from author to author; probably the most reliable listing is that of Berlin, *op.cit.* Rodríguez' contribution to the present effect of the façade of Gaudix cathedral was minimal; the work, though initiated in 1714, was not completed until 1770. The retables which remain are closer in general to the style of Pedro Duque Cornejo, although they may represent influence of the older master on someone like Rodríguez. They do not suggest Rodríguez' Mexican work. Many of his attributed works have since been destroyed. The one certain example of his style and a key monument to the development of the *estipite* style is the Sagrario Metropolitano, attached to the Cathedral of Mexico City. I append here a group of incidental notices about Rodríguez which have not been published. Documents which mention Lorenzo Rodríguez, taken from the *Protocolos* in the Archivo de Notarios, Mexico City: (1) 1761: (Joseph Caraballo, notary). On the 15th of June, Lorenzo Rodríguez is mentioned in connection with the sale of a house; (2) 1769: (Joseph Caraballo, notary). On the 7th of November, Lorenzo Rodríguez acts as a "fijador" of a deposit of 500 pesos in "oro común" by Don Antonio de Nueva Arensorero. Don Manuel Álvarez is "co-fijador." Both "fijadores" are called "maestro de arquitectura." (3) 1774: Lorenzo Rodríguez evaluates and measures the size and condition of a house at the instance of Don Andrés Ambrosio Llano y Valdés. Lorenzo Rodríguez is called here "maestro mayor en la arte de arquitectura de las obras del Real Palacio." Cf. also Inquisition, Vol. 847 (in the Archivo de la Nación, Mexico City), folio 323,

and training, Mexican designers and craftsmen brought to fruition the most significant ideas of both Balbás and Hurtado. The result is unique. In the decades after Rodríguez' mid-century synthesis, an amazing inventiveness and a correspondingly high level of execution was achieved in Mexico. Although many of the ideas and techniques came from the mother country, the resulting works in Mexico are on a par with the finest that Spain has produced, and often give evidence of greater originality in design.

As one notes a dissolution of architectural vigor in certain Hispanic retables of the eighteenth century, one also finds this phenomenon reflected in Mexico. But the authoritative statement given the pseudo-architectural formality of the *estípita* by Lorenzo Rodríguez momentarily arrested the development of this tendency. However, after 1765, the trend to alter the rigid formality of the *estípita* retable or completely to eliminate architectonic articulation in retable composition appeared in metropolis and province. It is especially in the area around Querétaro and Salamanca, Mexico, that this trend was most pronounced. Pedro Joseph de Roxas and Ignacio Mariano de las Casas prove the triumph of ornament over architecture, but with no loss of coherence.

A curious kind of ornamental niche-pilaster is the main element of articulation (Fig. 2). This is nothing more than the glorification of a part of retable composition which had appeared as early as the late seventeenth century in Spain. Lateral niches, richly garnished with masses of ornament above and below the recess, appeared in the work of the Churriguera and Balbás. Hurtado, however, provides the most powerful emphasis on this element as a means of articulating the retable's surface. Duque Cornejo and Fernández del Castillo carry on the tradition in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Lorenzo Rodríguez brings this form out from the interior, but he still maintains the architectonic pattern of *estípites*. At Tepozotlán, in the transept retables, one notes a growing interest in articulation with ornamental niche-pilasters; and in the transept and nave of Tasco, Isidoro Vicente de Balbás¹⁶ carries this trend a step farther.

In Mexico City, the richest statement of the ornamental niche-pilaster, coupled with a dominant trend toward multiplicity of accent, is to be found in the main retable of La Enseñanza. Outside of the city, Santa Rosa and Santa Clara, Querétaro, and the Augustinian church at Salamanca (Mexico) represent the ultimate in this type of composition. The Querétaro style (comprising works in the Bajío) also gives major emphasis to a striking kind of ornament, with motifs drawn from Mannerist, Baroque, and Rococo sources.¹⁷

SANTA ROSA AND SANTA CLARA, QUERÉTARO¹⁸

Both Santa Rosa de Viterbo and Santa Clara in Querétaro were conventual foundations. Set in one of the handsomest smaller communities of Mexico, the convents prospered as the town

reverse of p. 324: "Nombramiento de maestro mayor de las obras y fabrica de este Santo Oficio a favor de Don Lorenzo Rodríguez, maestro mayor del Real Palacio."

16. Isidoro Vicente de Balbás may be the son of Gerónimo Balbás, as Toussaint suggests (*Arte colonial*, p. 307). His most important project later in the century was a design for the façade of the Cathedral of Mexico City, 1788; cf. Federico Mariscal, *La arquitectura en México*, Mexico City, Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1932, pl. facing p. 78.

17. Unfortunately, all of the work in Celaya comparable to the retables of Santa Rosa and Santa Clara or San Agustín has been replaced, and almost none of the minor works of this school can be traced in outlying communities in the area. For that reason, one may call the type of work encountered in this school of design the Querétaro style, since two of its most important examples are in that town. Others may prefer to call it the style of the Bajío.

18. Both are Franciscan churches. Santa Clara was founded by the Indian *cacique*, D. Diego de Tapia, in the sixteenth century, but the present building dates from 1633; cf. Tous-

saint, *Arte colonial*, p. 300, and Juan Morfi, *Viaje de Indios y diario del Nuevo México*, Mexico City, 1935, entry for August 25; also Valentín F. Frías, *Leyendas y tradiciones querétanas*, pp. 399-403. The first important work at Santa Rosa dates from 1699, when D. Juan Caballero y Osio established a chapel here. The convent was created by a bull of Clement XII in 1732. The present building was dedicated in 1752, and made possible by funds from Don José Velásquez de Lorea; cf. the plaque on the church's façade placed there in 1942 by the Comisión Local de Turismo: "El Tte. Coronel de los Reales Ejércitos José Velásquez de Lorea costeó la edificación de este templo y claustros, obra del ingeniero Querétano Ignacio Mariano de las Casas, constructor del primer Reloj de Repitición en América, cuya carátula aun puede verse en la torre. Año de 1752." In 1862 the nuns were moved in with the nuns at Santa Clara (which was itself soon closed), and the convent of Santa Rosa was converted into a Civil Hospital, although the church is now again in use; cf. Mariscal, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 11-16; Frías, *op.cit.*, pp. 332-335. Problems of dating the interior fittings here are com-

did. While Querétaro¹⁹ exploited its mineral and agricultural resources, and developed into a particularly appealing example of eighteenth century town planning and building, these two convents drew many rich novices from the area and formed a pair of small communities within the town.²⁰ One senses in the church interiors of Santa Rosa and Santa Clara that same secularization, at least in aesthetic terms, that is marked in eighteenth century conventual establishments in Europe. Most of the nuns had personal servants²¹ and lived a quietly elegant life within the spacious confines of the convent. The lavish church interiors mirror to a nicety the spiritual modes of the time (Fig. 1).²²

Related to the Querétaro style are certain Sevillian works. Particularly in the work of Felipe Fernández del Castillo²³ and that of Cayetano Acosta²⁴ are to be found the Hispanic versions of the ornamental predilections that created Santa Rosa's and Santa Clara's church interiors. Not only is the repertoire of motifs comparable, but the ornamental niche-pilaster is used prominently. This is most apparent in Spain in the principal retables of the Capilla Sacramental at Santa Catalina, in the small church of San José, and in the retables by Acosta in El Salvador, all in

plicated by lack of adequate documentation, so that the interpretation of dates must be largely based on style.

19. See the entry under Querétaro, Don Antonio de Acedo, *Diccionario geográfico-histórico de las Indias occidentales o América*, Madrid, 1788, IV, pp. 345-347. The census (*Padrón*) of Querétaro for 1776-1778, preserved in the Archivo de la Nación, Mexico City (*Padrón*, XII, pp. 117-119), lists the following vital statistics: total population 17,749 (divided into *Espanoles*, *Indios*, *Mestizos*, *Castizos*, *Negros*, *Mulatos*, *Lobos*). Under the jurisdiction of the parish of Santiago (the city proper was known as Santiago de Querétaro), there were in 1778: "clérigos sacerdotes y de órdenes menores, domiciliarios de aquí, 75. Religiosos profesos sacerdotes en los conventos de S. Domingo, S. Francisco, San Antonio de Padua, San Agustín, el Carmen, la Merced, Colegio Apostólico de la Santa Cruz, y Oratorio de San Felipe Neri, 170. Religiosos laycos de estas órdenes y de la de San Hipólito martir, 72. Religiosas Capuchinas y Clarisas: y Beatas del Real Colegio de Santa Rosa, y de el de la enseñanza de Carmelitas, 201; componiendo todos los eclesiásticos de uno y otro sexo, el número de 508 personas" (*Padrón*, p. 119). See also Ward, *Mexico in 1827*, London, 1828, II, pp. 417-418: "We were much struck with the busy look of Querétaro, which has quite the air of a manufacturing district. More than half the houses contain shops, and the whole population is engaged either in small trades, or in the wool manufactories, which are still very numerous. . . . The inhabitants [of the state of Querétaro], with the exception of those of the capital, are mostly employed in agriculture. The district of Cadereita, however, contains . . . mines. . . . The state abounds in Haciendas, both of cattle and sheep (*Ganado Mayor y Menor*) and of wheat, maize and beans. The population of the capital by the last census appears to be 32,000."

20. See *ibid.*, p. 417: "Some of the churches are fine, particularly that of Guadalupe; as are the convents of San Francisco, and Santa Clara, the last of which contains a population of two hundred and fifty females, composed of seventy nuns and as many young ladies sent there for their education, with lay sisters and attendants. It is an immense building, and is said to resemble a little town in the interior, with streets and Plazas regularly laid out." Cf. also Mariscal, *La arquitectura en México*, II, p. 18. Sacheverell Sitwell's account of Santa Clara (*Southern Baroque*, New York, 1924, pp. 226-230) is evocative but full of factual errors.

21. See Mariscal, *op.cit.*, II, p. 18: "Cada monja vivía en su pequeña casa, algunas de altos, compuesta de cuatro y cinco piezas, acompañada de dos, tres, y aun cuatro criadas." The number of nuns varied from period to period. In Santa Clara the average number was 50, although as many as 206 are known in a single period. See the manuscript, *Testimonio de los autos sobre la fundación del convento de S. Clara de la Ciudad de Querétaro*, in the possession of Sr. Ignacio Herrera

Tejeda of Querétaro.

22. The most comparable European effect is to be found in northern Portugal, in Porto and towns like Vizeu, Braga, and Aveiro. In both Querétaro and northern Portugal there is a pronounced influence of curvilinear and *rocaille* motifs; but the Mannerist repertoire of the Hispanic designers, Bálbas and Rodríguez, dominant everywhere in eighteenth century Mexico, is wholly lacking in Portugal. Retable articulation in Portugal is usually effected during the eighteenth century by the twisted or classicizing column rather than by the *estípite*. For the *quartelão*, a version of the broken, prismatic quality of the *estípite* in Portugal, see Smith, "The Portuguese Wood-carved Retable," pp. 38-39. There is, however, an approximation of the ornamental niche-pilaster in such an interior as that of Santa Clara, Porto—not on a retable, but at either side of the triumphal arch (Fig. 3). Direct connections between Portugal and Mexico are improbable; one is faced rather with utilization of some of the same general sources, and an occasional coincidental resemblance.

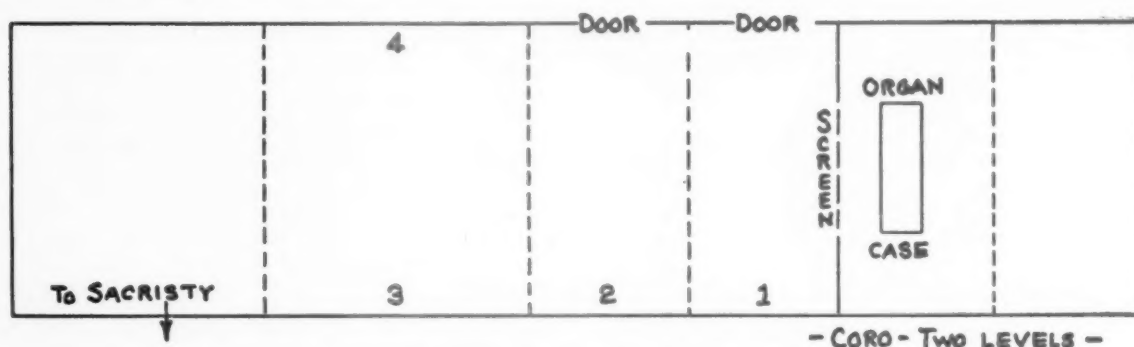
Striking instances of Rococo work in Portugal, based on late seventeenth to early eighteenth century Italian designs, are the magnificent coaches preserved in the Coach Museum at Belem. Here one sees the type of ornament preferred in much of the Querétaro style, even though the immediate sources of inspiration are later in date than this transitional period in Italy. The *Gaceta de México*, No. 6, June 1728, describes the arrival of the Portuguese Ambassador, Marqués de Abrantes, at the court of Madrid: "Con un numeroso, y lucido séquito de siete carrozas muy ricas."

23. Felipe Fernández del Castillo's contracted works are to be found in *Documentos para la historia del arte en Andalucía*, Seville, Laboratorio de Arte, 1934, VII. This still unstudied Andalusian master was Pedro Duque Cornejo's most successful pupil and probably executed many of his master's later commissions. They were definitely associated in the parochial church at Umbrete near Seville and perhaps at San Luis, Seville; for a study of the latter church, see Angel Camacho Baños, *El Templo de San Luis*, Seville, 1944.

24. Cayetano Acosta, a somewhat mysterious figure in eighteenth century Andalusian art. Sir William Stirling-Maxwell (*Annals of the Artists of Spain*, London, 1891, IV, pp. 1,539-1,540) states that he was born about 1710 and died in 1780. He is commonly supposed to have come from Portugal, but there are no documented works for his life there (if any exist). His most characteristic work can be seen in the elaborate *retablo mayor* at El Salvador, Seville, 1770, and in the superb proscenium-arch retable over the entrance to the Capilla de la Pasión in the same church (not documented), about 1765; see José Gestoso y Pérez, *Sevilla monumental y artística*, Seville, 1880, III, p. 351. For illustrations of his work, cf. Taylor, "Rococo in Spain," figs. 11 and 12.

Seville. Significantly, there is almost no use of the *estípita* on these Hispanic works. The retable and carved wood decoration in the Capilla Sacramental at Santa Catalina (Fig. 4) were contracted for by Felipe Fernández del Castillo in 1748,²⁵ at least fifteen years earlier than any of the important retables in Santa Clara or Santa Rosa, Querétaro. Although it is conceivable that these Sevillian interiors were known in Mexico (tiles of a very similar pattern to those in Santa Catalina are to be found in drawings, formerly at the convent of San Angel, Mexico City),²⁶ the interiors of Santa Rosa and Santa Clara in Querétaro are distinctly more impressive than any of the small Sevillian works of comparable style. Almost all of the formative ideas in eighteenth century Mexican retable design had come from Spain, but they are fused with local ideas in Mexico to create some of the more spectacular effects achieved there. In Querétaro, thus, one finds a development of trends suggested earlier in Spain and Mexico, but a development in which the rich imagination of the designers augments and supplements the compositional and ornamental complexity of Hispanic designers and the suggestions of Europe. The end result is without direct parallel anywhere in contemporary Spain.

Although only the church with its fine attached sacristy and cloister remain to testify to the glory of Santa Rosa, there is quite enough splendor in this relatively small area to prove the wealth of the foundation.²⁷ One enters through the left member of the usual double (Mexican) conventual portal (text fig. 2). Still *in situ* are the carved doors combining *mudéjar* geometri-



2. Querétaro, Mexico. Santa Rosa, floor plan

cism and Renaissance motifs. Inside, to the left, is a screen rising the full height of the church—dividing the two levels of nuns' benches and stalls from the rest of the interior (Fig. 5). On the first level of the area behind the screen (*coro bajo*) there is a remarkable eighteenth century organ case, designed by Ignacio Mariano de las Casas.²⁸ Figures in polychromed wood and a minor retable are grouped around the walls of the *coro bajo*.²⁹

The choir screen is also divided into two levels, to enhance the suggestion of divided space behind. Gilded wrought-iron grating protected the nuns seated behind the screen from too inquisitive eyes. Enframing the grating on the main (first) level is a picturesque grouping of fifteen

25. *Documentos para la historia del arte en Andalucía*, VII, pp. 26-27. The name of Pedro Tortolero is often associated with this chapel, but he apparently executed only the painting of the vaults and perhaps some of the canvases on the walls. See Stirling-Maxwell, *Annals*, IV, pp. 1,530-1,531, where it is stated that Tortolero died in 1766 of an accident that occurred while he was "painting the tasteless decoration of the Sagrario of the church of Santa Catalina."

26. See Diego Angulo Íñiguez, "Dos Menas en Méjico," *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, XXXI, p. 138, note 2.

27. There is a large painting by Miguel Cabrera or Francisco Eduardo Tresguerras in this sacristy, centering around the theme of the *Hortus Conclusus*; the table in the center of the room is similar to one in the sacristy at San Agustín, Salamanca, and is part of the general ecclesiastical furniture

style (with inlaid woods and ivory in *mudéjar* patterns) seen in the Querétaro area, particularly in the pulpits of Santa Rosa, Santa Clara, and San Agustín at Salamanca.

28. Formerly dated 1759; see Heraclio Cabrera, *Don Ignacio Casas*, Mexico City, 1920, p. xiv. The present inscription has been renewed and states that Don Juan de Zárate bore the cost. It is illustrated in Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo*, pl. 157a.

29. In the storeroom off the *coro bajo* there are fragments of gilded and polychromed wood that appear to have come from a retable, and pieces of wrought iron that obviously formed part of a *reja* or balcony. Sr. Herrera Tejeda of Querétaro has suggested that it is part of the interior decoration from San Francisco, now swept clean of its rich eighteenth century work, with the exception of a superb *fascistol* (choral lectern) which is certainly by de las Casas.

paintings devoted to the twelve Apostles, Christ, Mary, and John the Baptist. Fanciful Mexican Rococo frames surround these paintings. Angelic *putti* pull aside wooden draperies, giving an added theatricality, as if it were a proscenium, to the grating of the first level. As a transition to the grating which runs across the screen at the second level, the artisan has added cartouches and curving palm fronds.

At all points there is an attempt to dissolve decoration into an illusion of insubstantiality. Were the observer not confused enough by the gratings which help to obscure the persons behind them, (particularly by the knobby diffractiveness of the second level), he is made even more dizzy by the complex play of curves. There is a spiritual and aesthetic relationship between this kind of Mexican *coro* screen and the *iconostasis*³⁰ of the Eastern Church. Both are safeguards against visual examination of what lies behind. Yet, to balance the beholder's frustration, there is a rewarding display of symbols and persons meant to inspire the faithful with remembrance of their knowledge of the Christian traditions. Further, there is all the appeal of virtuosity in manipulating light and form with the aid of gold and fine craftsmanship.

One is tempted, in the C-scrolls, palm fronds, and obvious *rocaille* character of parts of this decoration, to connect the design with some of the French decorative handbooks that were circulating at this time. The curious little symbolic groups of instruments of office and music, castles, capes, and cups, etc., placed over or under each picture-frame, appear with Bernini,³¹ and are developed into those symbolic still-lives which grace Hoppenhaupt's and Cuvillies' *stucchi* and *boiseries*.³² But such a formal opposition of S-curves as appears in the pierced fan at the top of the *coro* screen is rare in Europe.³³ Something of the general spirit of the Rococo is here, but the whole is given a distinctly Mexican interpretation. Hispanic, Arabic, and native Indian³⁴ respect for bi-symmetry rules all of Mexican architectural and large decorative ensembles. There is always a strong sense of opposed patterns in the organization of complex wholes, which gives an irresistible order to Mexican work, even at its most fantastic.

The first retable on the left of the nave (Figs. 5 and 6; No. 1 on the plan),³⁵ contiguous to the *coro* screen, shows a compromise between the architectonic ideas of Balbás-Rodríguez and the ornamental preferences of the Querétaro style. Behind the *Crucified Christ* in the upper center of this retable is a low relief background based on rich brocade patterns, translated into gilded wood (Fig. 1). Also notable, as in so many of the retables in the Querétaro style, is a basket-work background which lightens the subordinate surfaces of the retable and tends to enhance the bulbous plasticity of the pilasters.³⁶ Those pilasters near the center of the main level are of a

30. Many of the *iconostases* of the Baroque period in Russia are virtually retables, e.g., that at Saint Nicholas in Yaroslavl, illustrated in D. R. Buxton, *Russian Mediaeval Architecture*, Cambridge, 1934, pl. 48—dating from the late seventeenth century and probably designed by Italian artisans.

31. For example, the base of the Longinus monument, St. Peter's (see Max Von Boehn, *Lorenzo Bernini*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 13). The more immediate Italian connections of the eighteenth century in Mexico, particularly through the Jesuits, can be judged by the following entry in the *Gaceta de México*, No. 33, August 1730: México (D.F.): "El hermoso Templo de la Casa Profesa se dexaba ver primorosamente adornado, el Altar todo de luzes, . . . Se extremaron pulidos costosos Ornamentos bordados en Milan y otros paramentos . . . y al tiempo de la Misa se oyeron armoniosas diferencias de Música, que dispuso la destreza de la Capilla, de esta Santa Iglesia, imitando la Italiana."

32. See Max Osborn, *Die Kunst des Rokoko*, Berlin, 1929, pls. 304, 308.

33. A singularly close analogy occurs on the Altar del Santo Cristo, in the church of San Carlos at Zaragoza (ca. 1724-1736), where framed paintings, palm branches, and opposed S-motifs in a fan are combined with an apparently precocious use of *rocaille* motifs in Spain. See Francisco A.

Ríos, "La Iglesia y Convento de San Carlos en Zaragoza," *Arte español*, XIV, 1942, pl. v. Also comparable is a screen in Santa Lucia, Palermo.

34. See A. Neumeyer, "Indian Contribution to Architectural Decoration in Spanish Colonial America," *ART BULLETIN*, XXX, 1948, pp. 104-121.

35. The dedications of these retables at Santa Rosa include: (1) the *Crucified Christ*, with mourning Mary and John; (2) *San Pablo de la Cruz*; (3) *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*; (4) *San José*; (5) the *Scourged Christ*, with wounds of the Passion. Certain of the figures on the retables are not of the eighteenth century, including the female saint in the shell at the base of Retable 2, and the Christ at the base of Retable 3.

36. The closest general European analogy is in the scale patterns used to animate background surfaces in the decorative works of Oppenort, et al.; cf. Désiré Guilmard, *Les maîtres ornemanistes*, Paris, 1881, pl. 47. In the monastery of Yuso at San Millán de la Cogolla (near Logroño, Spain), there is a superb screen of gilded wood (ca. 1765-1769) which shows a criss-cross pattern in relief on many of the background surfaces, and a rich type of *rocaille* motif. In Querétaro itself, aside from the retables of Santa Rosa and Santa Clara, one finds this kind of fiber pattern in the church of the Congre-

unique form, based on the *estípita*. Into the proportions of the *estípita* as used by Balbás-Rodríguez the artisan has introduced elements of pronounced convexity or concavity, so that the pilaster is either cut down to a waspishly constricted girth or is amplified into oval sections (above the feather capital) of pronounced swollenness.³⁷

The redundant succession of capitals (five in all) on a slender *estípita* base is not very felicitous. A more satisfying (though by no means successful) treatment of this idea comes in the ornamental pilasters on the outer edges of the main level. Here is a suggestion of the ornamental niche-pilaster with painted inserts taking the place of figures and their niches. Below the high relief frames of these paintings is a cascade of leaf and shell ornament that ends on the doors below. It is hard to suggest strong and effective articulation with the bulging and teetering inner pilasters. Either the geometric abstraction of the *estípita* or the completely non-structural combination of elements in the outer pilasters typical of the Querétaro style is preferable.

One must always remember that he who conceived this ensemble was absorbed by the unreal realm of decorative experiment, which would give all whimsy a place and still provide a suitably dramatic background for the particular religious scene or person to be presented. Throughout this retablo of the Crucifixion at Santa Rosa one must not look for full reliance on any other known retables. It is fully characteristic neither of the metropolitan *estípita* style nor of the Querétaro style.

The Mother Superior's balcony and retablo (Fig. 6; No. 2 on the plan), placed next to the retablo of the Crucifixion, is connected in general form with the Mother Superior's balcony at Santa Clara (Fig. 12). At Santa Rosa it is placed over a vitrine and utilizes a number of painted canvases in its retablo; at Santa Clara the balcony straddles the portal to the sacristy and baptistry. Both are open at the top, above the balcony proper, with windows; but at Santa Rosa retablo and balcony are less well integrated with the flat area of painting which surrounds the window. In both churches the supports of the balcony break out in a more pronounced central element, but in Santa Rosa this element is not carried up into the grill-work³⁸ of the balcony proper. A series of minor divisions animates the larger divisions of the support to the balcony (formed of applied curves); while an all-over pattern gives surface liveliness to the areas between. The carving and general design at Santa Rosa are similar to the florid foliation which bursts up along the sides of the door beneath the balcony at Santa Clara. The effect of this foliation at Santa Rosa, however, is lighter and somewhat drier.

Notable are the figures which serenely balance the whole mass of the balcony against the palm of a hand.³⁹ At the outer left and right of the section under the balcony there are figures which embrace a tangle of foliation—coily half hiding and half sustaining their umbrageous burden. There is no real intimation of any columnar or pilaster support here, although canvases mounted in oval frames tend to suggest a quasi-pilaster at either side of this small retablo. Caryatids, scrolls, and panels move in a complex rhythmic organization which is overrun with leaf patterns, little waves, and a rather finicky diaper-work of rosettes. The decoration is so intense that one fails to realize that the ornamental pilaster (with canvases taking the place of a niche and figures) is still a conditioning element in this curious ensemble, although it is almost wholly submerged.

Interest in framed canvases⁴⁰ reaches a full climax in the pair of retables which face each other across the area which would normally be a transept in this small church (Fig. 7). There is a

gación, in the sacristy, on a retablo now dedicated to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. The use of scale and fiber patterns goes back, of course, to Renaissance sources; cf. Rudolf Berliner, *Ornamentale Vorlageblätter*, Leipzig, 1925, 1 (of plates), pl. 18.

37. Probably based on German Mannerist sources; note a design for a vase by Virgil Solis (1514-1562), in Guilmar, *Les maîtres ornementistes*, pl. 127.

38. This grill-work of wrought iron is lacquered dark

green, with red- and yellow-centered flowerets at the apex of the spiral motifs.

39. Based on a sixteenth century motif of sarcophagi supported by caryatids or atlantes.

40. The interest in *tableaux vivants* is particularly marked at San Agustín, Salamanca, and is clearly defined in the contract for the retablo of Santa Ana (where they are called "misterios"); the *tableaux* are replaced by the less plastic, and chronologically later, use of paintings here at Santa Rosa.

marked resemblance in the use of a great draped canopy with openwork crown supporting a figure against the light of a window to the transept retables at San Agustín at Salamanca (Fig. 20).⁴¹ The superb *rocaille* of the ornamental pilasters at Salamanca, however, does not appear so patently on the retables of Santa Rosa, where the ornamental repertoire still owes much to the style of the Hispanic designer Pedro Duque Cornejo.⁴²

Under the lofty canopies angels pull back beige and gold wooden draperies to reveal either the Virgin of Guadalupe or a vitrine with Saint Joseph (Nos. 3 and 4 on the plan). Aerial contact is maintained between the tips of the angelic wings by a dove of the Holy Spirit, which flutters against the vibrant relief surfaces almost hidden in the obscurity of the canopies' interiors. The grace and lightness of this central motif is echoed in the twining frames of brilliant green garlands which surround the canvases of these retables.⁴³ This very natural sense of upward plant growth is continued in the upper level of the retables by a single, garland-framed canvas.⁴⁴ To enhance the effect of a jungle-like organic luxuriance, the artisans have covered all the available background surfaces with leaf and scroll designs, confined, however, to the pronounced vertical and horizontal lines which rule the total composition. The doors, at either side of the lowest section of these retables, are also enlivened with a sinuous vine pattern that flows over the double valves.⁴⁵

There are definite pilasters used by the master of these retables to emphasize the vertical accents. In a very general sense, he reverts to the traditional articulation of the retablo with four vertical accents in the main level—a pair on either side of the center. Here the pilasters are crowded into recessive angles of the surface, and the garland-framed paintings remained the dominant lateral elements. Furthermore, these pilasters are so covered with angelic herms that they look like celestial ladders, up and down which the angelic host is moving. The upward surge of the pilasters is underlined by massy consoles which support their bases, and by the concave curves which rise from their capitals to the fringed entablature.

Many of the ideas which make these retables so impressive are lifted direct from Hispanic work of the period from 1715 to 1750. Pedro Duque Cornejo had used the crown canopy, silhouetted figure, angels or *putti* sustaining voluminous, polychromed drapery, garlands, shells, and the herm-covered pilasters seen at Santa Rosa.⁴⁶ But the sense of tropical vegetation covering the retables in the pseudo-transepts is quite indigenous, although the foliate patterns are actually based on a mixture of well-worn European sources. Notable in both these retables is the completely assured control that the designer has over the formal composition. This is no naïve jumble of parts, but the highly sophisticated product of a carefully conceived totality.⁴⁷

41. The stylistic relation between the use of *rocaille* motifs at San Agustín, particularly on the retables of Santa Ana and San José, and that seen in Cayetano Acosta's work in El Salvador, Seville, is striking.

42. The influence of Pedro Duque Cornejo (1677 or 1678-1757) on both the south of Spain and Mexico in the period after 1710 was immense. Although he began as a figure sculptor, he became the foremost exponent of Balbás' mixed Baroque-Mannerist ornamental repertoire, and designed a wide variety of retables in both wood and marble in Seville, Granada, and Córdoba.

43. For comparable use of this motif of the intertwining garland frame, see Gillet, in A. Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, VIII, pt. 3, p. 1073, fig. 273, for a discussion of a wooden portal at Ixtapalapa, Mexico. Its most immediate European source is something like Borromini's picture frames for the interior of San Giovanni in Laterano. The metallic luster of much of the polychromy at Santa Rosa and Santa Clara has few direct parallels in Spain. A comparable, although distinctly more nacreous, type of lacquer is used on a retablo in northern Portugal—the *altar mor* at A Misericórdia in Braga. It is curious that one of the most exact approximations of the kind of ornamental niche-pilaster used so often in the Querétaro style is also to be found on this Portuguese work.

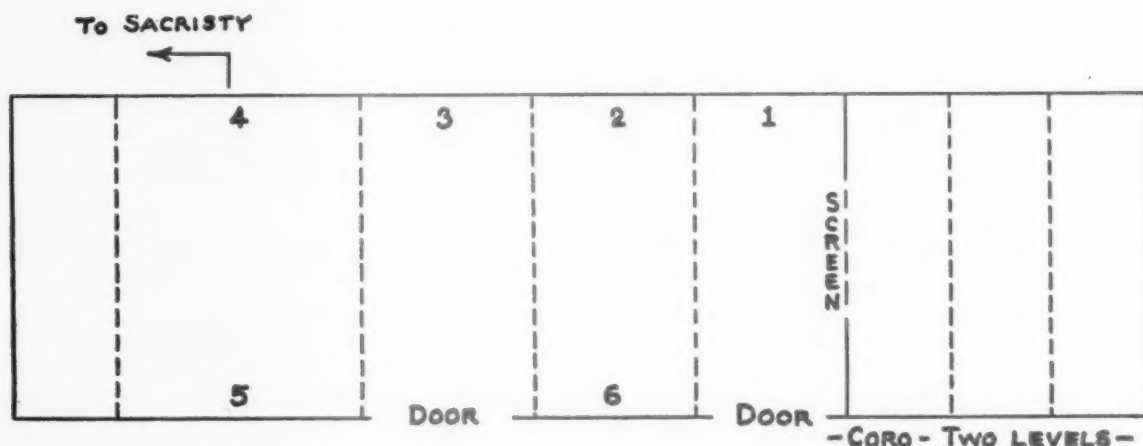
44. Some of the paintings are by Miguel Cabrera, one of the more competent of the generally effete and eclectic eighteenth century Mexican painters. Those on the retablo of San José are superior to those on the retablo of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

45. This type of door, usually ornamental, is found prominently on the retables of the Querétaro group. Superb examples occur at Santa Clara, Querétaro, and San Agustín, Salamanca.

46. Note especially the *retablo mayor* designed by Duque Cornejo at the parochial church of Umbrete (1733), and his earlier retablo of Nuestra Señora de la Antigua in Granada cathedral (1716-1718). Note also Cayetano Acosta's variants of the Cornejo formula in a more Rococo manner at the *retablo mayor* of San José, Seville (1740-1743 or ca. 1760?), and in the retables of Las Capuchinas, Seville (1762ff.).

47. The shell and crown, which are so prominent on the transept retables of Santa Rosa, appear at a reduced scale on the *lavabo* of the church's sacristy. It may seem incongruous to use a crown for a towel rack; but the joyous flair which transfigures so prosaic a thing of everyday life as a washbasin into a kind of royal grotto, hung with crimson and gold, is an integral part of the same kind of imagination which can make a confessional into an arbor or a retablo into a forest. The relatively small retablo between the two entrance doors

Santa Clara⁴⁸ is but six blocks from Santa Rosa; yet the interior decoration, though related, is often quite different in its final expression. The actual space of each interior is very similar—a long, narrow nave with a two-level *coro* at the back, divided by a notable screen from the main body of the church (text fig. 3). In both Santa Clara and Santa Rosa the *retablo mayor* has been re-



3. Querétaro, Mexico. Santa Clara, floor plan

placed by a nineteenth century work.⁴⁹ The effect of an interior shining with gold is fuller at Santa Clara than at Santa Rosa; the number of gilded wood retables at Santa Clara is one greater than at Santa Rosa, and the retables are larger, on the whole. (There is one *estípita* retablo at Santa Clara.) The whole ensemble is more voluptuous, more ample (even somewhat swollen) than the more abstract patterns seen in San Agustín, Salamanca, or the scintillating hesitance between formal design and over-all pattern of Santa Rosa.⁵⁰

Dr. Atl⁵¹ and Gillet⁵² speak of the French influence on the motifs in Santa Clara; but this is far indeed from the more definitely Rococo aspects of the frames on the *coro* screen at Santa Rosa. The only way fully to appreciate this, as well as the principal characteristic of the Querétaro style manifest here, is to study the important retables in detail. One begins, as at Santa Rosa, with the *coro* screen (Fig. 8). The screen of Santa Clara is more open; although similarly organized, it lacks the over-all integration and lightness of the work in Santa Rosa. Typical of Santa Clara is the very robust nature of the ornamental motifs (compared with the frothy delicacy of the *rocaille* frames at Santa Rosa). This is particularly apparent in the carving of the frame around the first-level grating, with its figures of virtues and personages in the Old Testament.⁵³ The

of the church (No. 5) is infinitely less exciting. There are sections which are finely executed—the full-flung opposed scrolls at the base, comparable to the same motif on the fan of the *coro* screen, or the open-work *rocaille* motifs at the pinnacle of the retablo—but, as a whole, it is less coherent than the other work in this interior. Consistent with a general tendency in the Santa Rosa retables is the use of a framed painting on the ornamental pilasters of this little retablo.

48. An inscription on the façade, placed there in 1944 by the Comisión Local de Turismo, reads as follows: "D. Diego de Tapia otorgó su fortuna para construir este Real Convento de Santa Clara de Jesús cuyas obras estuvieron bajo la dirección del M.R.P. Fray Cristóbal Baz quien las terminó el 27 de Julio de 1633." (There is a further notice, irrelevant here, concerning the imprisonment of Doña Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez.) Until very recently the convent of Santa Clara was still standing, in large part intact, though the vaults had partially collapsed in some of the conventual buildings. About 1944 it was completely dismantled, with the exception of a few buildings contiguous to the church, to make way for a cinema; and a street was cut through the area to the west of the convent in

order to connect the new building with the main plaza of Querétaro.

49. At Santa Rosa, this takes the form of a free-standing monumental tabernacle; at Santa Clara, it is merely a Neo-Classic *retablo mayor*.

50. Santa Clara might be called *Barococo*—still distinctly possessed of the swelling vitality of the Baroque, although the motifs are often Rococo.

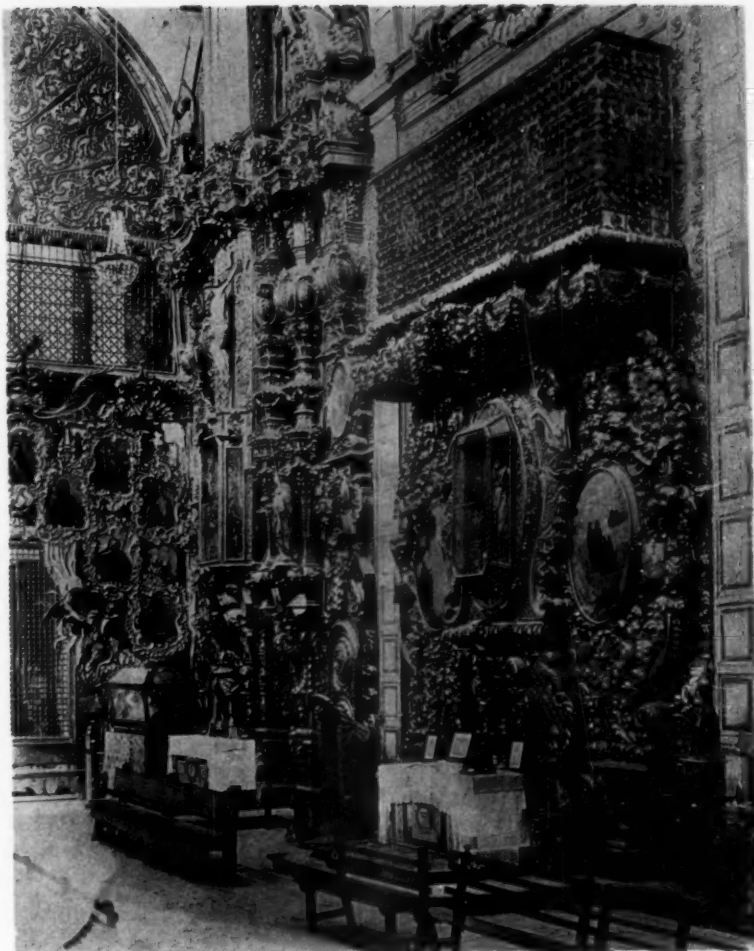
51. M. Toussaint, et al., *Iglesias de Mexico*, Mexico City, 1924, v, p. 46.

52. In Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, VIII, pt. 3, pp. 1039ff. Gillet is by far the most penetrating European critic who has written about Mexican colonial art, but he characterizes Santa Rosa's and Santa Clara's decoration of the eighteenth century with somewhat less than his usual exactness: "On y observe, dans la broussaille de la fantaisie et de la rocaille, une nuance de délicatesse et de mièvrerie française, un voluptueux raffinement de féminin boudoir."

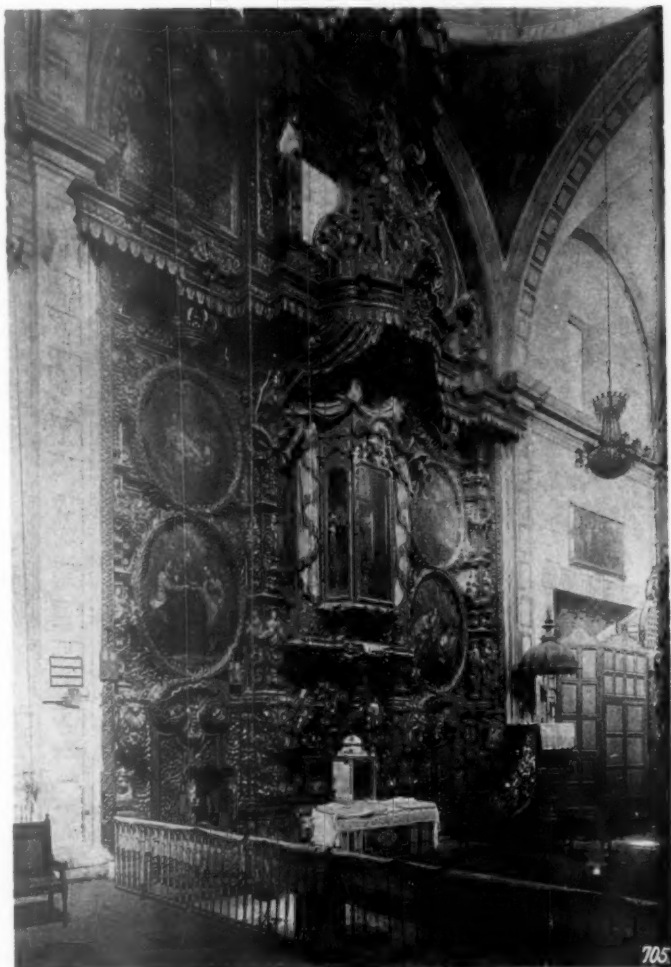
53. In addition to polychromy of the figures, there is a dull red and gold harmony observed on background surfaces and the carved, wooden drapery is toned in red, blue, and white.



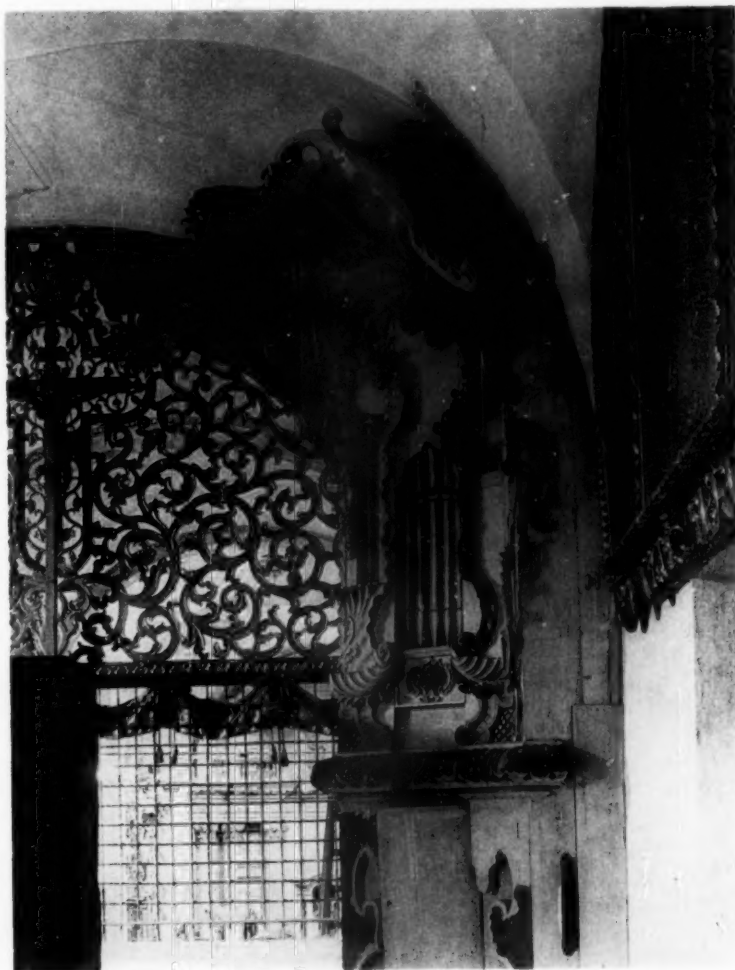
5. Querétaro, Mexico. Santa Rosa, interior
(Monumentos Coloniales Photo)



6. Querétaro, Mexico. Santa Rosa, *Coro* screen, Crucifixion Retable (1), and Mother Superior's balcony-retable (2)
(Monumentos Coloniales Photo)



7. Querétaro, Mexico. Santa Rosa, Retable of San José (4)
(Monumentos Coloniales Photo)



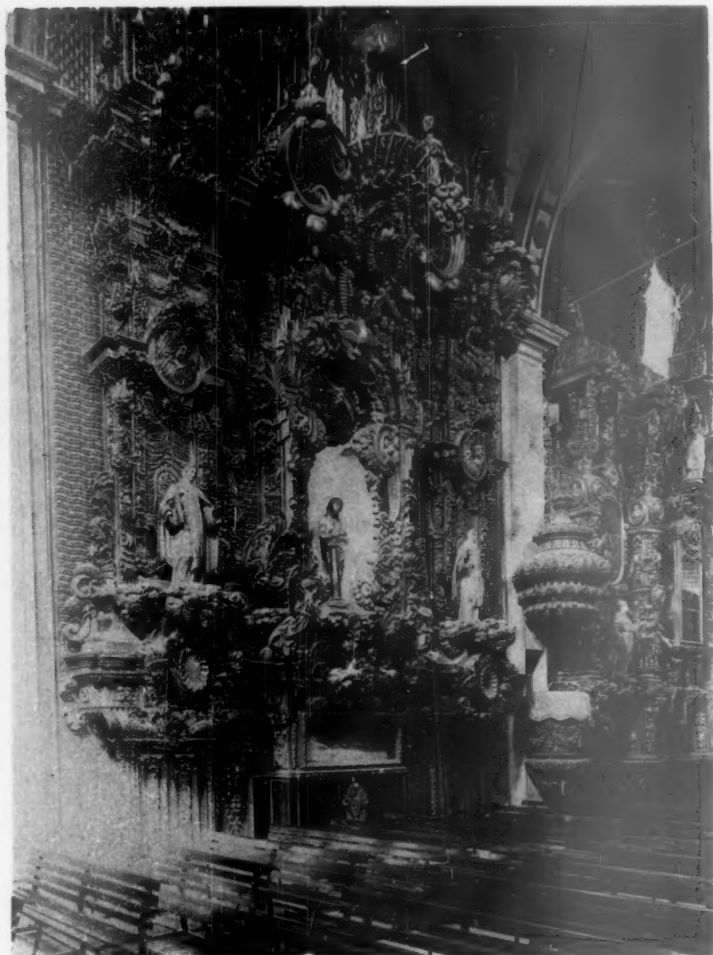
8. Querétaro, Mexico. Santa Clara, *Coro* screen (rear) and organ case



9. Querétaro, Mexico. Santa Clara, La Soledad Retable (1)
(detail of lower center)



10. Querétaro, Mexico. Santa Clara, Retable of San Juan
Nepomuceno (2), showing *estípites*



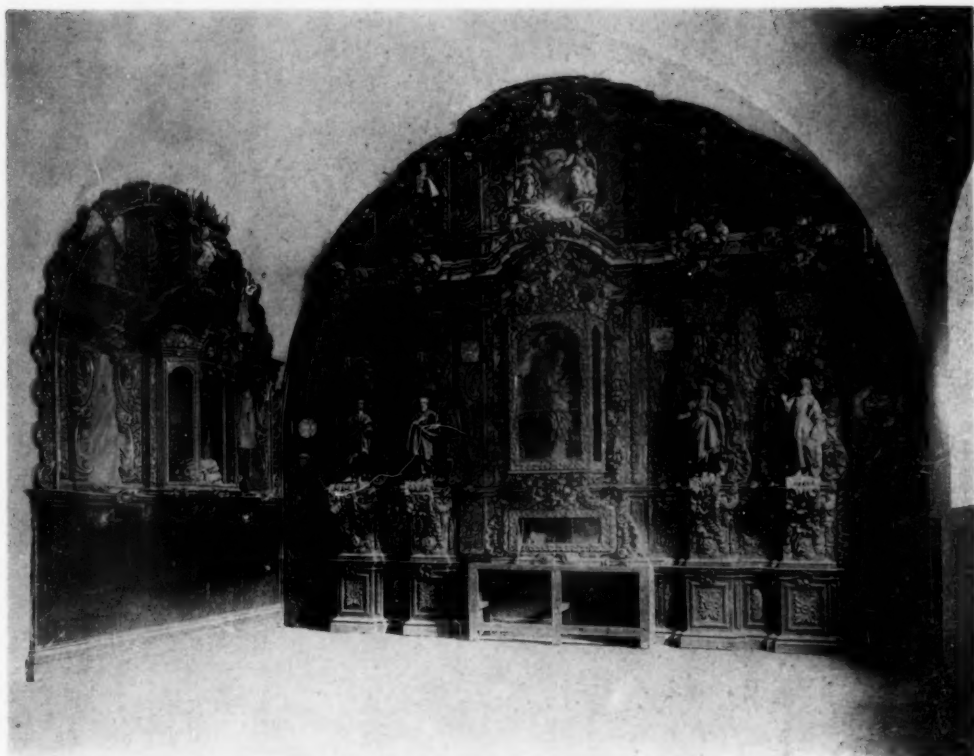
11. Querétaro, Mexico. Santa Clara, Retable 3, now dedicated
to the Virgin of Guadalupe (Monumentos Coloniales Photo)



12. Querétaro, Mexico. Santa Clara, Mother Superior's
balcony-retable (4) (Kahlo Photo)



13. Querétaro, Mexico. Santa Clara, Retable of Santa Rosa (6) (detail of lower right)



14. Querétaro, Mexico. Santa Clara, retablos in the *Coro Alto* (Monumentos Coloniales Photo)



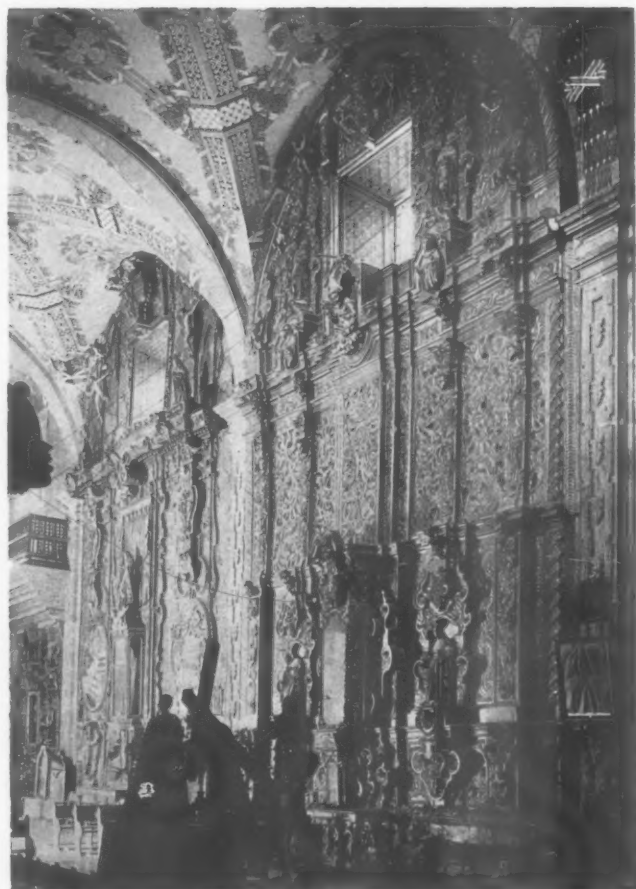
15. Salamanca, Mexico. San Agustín, Retable of San Nicolás de Tolentino (5)



16. Dolores Hidalgo, Mexico. Parroquia, ungilded retablo in right transept (Monumentos Coloniales Photo)



17. Salamanca, Mexico. San Agustín, portal-retablo (6)
(detail of upper center)



18. Salamanca, Mexico. San Agustín, Retables of Santa Rita
(1) and Santo Tomás (2) (Monumentos Coloniales Photo)



19. Salamanca, Mexico. San Agustín, Retablo of Santo Tomás
(2) (detail of right center)



20. Salamanca, Mexico. San Agustín, Retablo of Santa Ana (3)
(Monumentos Coloniales Photo)

effect of a stage curtain, or draperies pulled back to reveal some sacred drama, is used with consummate effect here, notably in the swags that are lifted up to present at Crucified Christ against a scroll-work background.⁵⁴ The sculptured figure seems to float against the labyrinth of curves, reminiscent of one of Leonardo's magic knot compositions. In such infinitely varied manipulation of surface, which has the effect of dematerializing the surface (whether in cut-work or basketry backgrounds), the designers of the Querétaro school are unrivaled.

A prime instance of the fullest implications of the Querétaro style, compositionally and ornamentally, is the retable next to the *coro* screen (No. 1 on the plan).⁵⁵ It is arranged in terms of two broad ornamental niche-pilasters flanking a projecting central vitrine (Fig. 2). Coruscating woven backgrounds are used in one of the never-repeated, basket-work patternings so esteemed by the masters of the Querétaro style. The center of interest in the second level is a cross, etched against the light of a window (evoking the motif of a silhouetted figure).⁵⁶ The whole is dissolved in a scintillation of gold and polychromy which helps to unify the elaborately massed decorative elements. The *estípite*, even in a highly changed form, is nowhere apparent; the whole retable bows to the new conventions of design giving precedence to the ornamental niche-pilaster.

As for the ornament itself, the shell and scroll are fundamental. The crimped edges of some C-scrolls suggest, in a very heavy way, purer Rococo work; but the general effect is based on an amalgamation of motifs which has no direct parallel in the Rococo of France or Germany. Many motifs seen in the work of Balbás, Rodríguez, Cornejo, and Castillo appear. Polychromatic wooden drapery, the *putti* reclining on broken pediments, the *faldoncito* (lambrequin),⁵⁷ all are used in this retable. Notable are the knobby cloudlets,⁵⁸ massed like a *mélange* of livers or kidneys, and the more natural leaf forms of palm and frond frames for symbolic escutcheons. In order to emphasize the minor elements of the Passion, hexagonal, rayed glories are used to set off the crown of thorns, etc. At the base of this retable there is one of those delicate ornamental caprices (Fig. 9) related to a Feichtmayer stucco.⁵⁹

Reetable No. 2 shows a combination of the *estípite* and the Querétaro ornamental repertoire (Fig. 10). The form of the *estípite* is not far removed from the Balbás-Rodríguez canon; and the interest of the Santa Rosa masters in framed paintings appears here, with such paintings taking the place of the intermediary ornamental niche-pilaster of the retable-façades of Rodríguez. The design of this retable as a whole is uninspired—it appears to have been a late concession to the fashion of the capital of the country. An adventitious sparkle comes from bits of mirror.

54. The figure is by Mariano Perusquia (born 1771). The traditions for this type of ecclesiastic *tableau* go back to late mediaeval mystery plays and the Italian *sacra rappresentazione*. It is particularly developed from a very early period in Hispanic countries, notably as a fixed *tableau* on the retable or as a movable *paso*. Such *pasos* are less common at present in Mexico than in Spain; but see Gillet, in Michel, *Histoire*, VIII, pt. 3, p. 1044: "voitures enroulées du Carmel de S. L. Potosi" (Mexico). More immediately applicable as sources here are the Hispanic instances of a *Crucifixion* with drapery drawn back on either side, as on the Altar del Santo Cristo, San Carlos, Zaragoza, Spain; remarkably analogous is the use of a type of interwoven, cut-out background pattern at San Carlos, and on the upper part of the *coro* screen at Santa Clara, Querétaro; cf. note 33 above.

55. The dedications of these retables at Santa Clara include: (1) *La Soledad* (with symbols of the Passion); (2) *San Juan Nepomuceno*; (3) *Christ at the Column*, now replaced by a painting of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*; (4) Mother Superior's balcony; (5) *La Purísima*; (6) *Santa Rosa de Viterbo*. As at Santa Rosa, certain of the figures of these retables are works of more recent date than the eighteenth century, notably the lower lateral figures of retables 1, 2, 4, and 5. The Santa Rosa and lower right figure of Retable 6 are replacements.

56. Used in a number of Hispanic works (e.g., Duque Cornejo's retable of *Nuestra Señora de la Antigua*, Granada cathedral, 1716-1718) and appearing prominently in Portugal (left transept retable of Grilos church, Porto), and in Germany in the work of the Asams, although in the latter instance in a somewhat more theatric form.

57. An ornament (literally, "the little skirt") derived from the elaborate fringe of Baroque canopies (cf. Bernini's baldachin at St. Peter's); in eighteenth century Spain it is enriched with "ears," and used extensively in the Granada-Cordoban area after 1730. It was probably brought to Mexico by Lorenzo Rodríguez. Eighteenth century Mannerist parallels can be seen in the Galician *plattenstil*.

58. See also the façade of San Felipe Neri in Querétaro.

59. Often these frontals were of silver; many of the existing altar frontals in Santa Clara show conversion, as if the previous and more costly metal frontal had been stripped away from its wooden backing. The total configuration of this part of the retable is very much like one designed by the eighteenth century Brazilian sculptor, Aleijadinho; cf. a detail of the *Sacratio do Altar-mor* in the church of São Francisco de Assis in Ouro Preto. There is little reason to consider any direct connection, although a similar European source, such as a design by Feichtmayer, may have inspired both.

More rewarding as a design and as a piece of fine craftsmanship is the retable (No. 3) now dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe (Fig. 11).⁶⁰ Compositionally, it is a superb example of the Querétaro style; as in Retable No. 1, there is a suspension of two broad ornamental niche-pilasters against a shimmering backdrop of wood carved to represent some woven fiber pattern. In both retables Nos. 1 and 3, the broad ornamental niche-pilasters are flanked by half-pilasters recessed behind the level of the main pilaster. In retables Nos. 1 and 3 of Santa Clara the traditional niche is suggested by a rectangular frame behind the principal figures of the first level. In Retable No. 1 the frame is opened to a pattern of basketry; on Retable No. 3 it is closed with shirred drapery.

The ornament of Retable No. 3 is especially complex. Above the painting of the *Virgin of Guadalupe* is a bust of *God the Father*, surrounded by a glory of knobby cloudlets. Higher is a fluttering dove and at the level of the retable's main cornice line there is a bound heart, aureoled with lambent flame—the *cor ardens*. Above this is a coronet holding a cross before the second-level window. On either side of this coronet are huge C-scrolls with cloudlets, shells, and pendant globular masses. This whole central group is one of the most striking examples of sensuous symbolism in Mexico. Gold and color unite with these forms to overwhelm the onlooker.

The broad ornamental niche-pilasters on either side of the retable are dissolved in carved drapery, shells and cartouches holding flaming hearts, and garlands; while masses of cloudlets carry the figures on the main level. Additional clouds mask the outline of the second-level window. Over the undulant surface of the fiber pattern, in gilded wood, glide long streamers carved, gilded, and polychromed.⁶¹ Fire and motion are everywhere evident. The spectator is dazzled and dizzied by the swirl of lines. This is a translation into purely eighteenth century Mexican terms of the ecstatic and hypnotic devices in color, richness of material, and surface animation utilized in the seventeenth century church, comparable to the endless, uplifting, and somewhat vertiginous effect of the painted vaults of Pietro da Cortona or Fratello Pozzo. Admittedly, here it is almost wholly a matter of dexterous manipulation of surfaces and skill in organizing large masses of ornament; there are no real Baroque spatial or luminary effects used in these retables, except the silhouetting of a figure or symbol against a window.

The Mother Superior's balcony at Santa Clara (Fig. 12; No. 4 on the plan) is one of the pseudo-transept retables.⁶² Garland-wrapped columns framing the second-level window may come from a French source;⁶³ but the general configuration of ornament is far from Langlois.⁶⁴ Shell and scroll abound. *Faldoncitos*, winged *putti* heads, and garlands remind us of Rodríguez and of Cornejo. But unique are the corona of wooden lace⁶⁵ and the reduplicated sheaves on the broad ornamental niche-pilasters.

60. An older photograph shows the figure of *Christ at the Column* seated in the vitrine, Fig. 11.

61. cf. also the retables in the Santa Casa de Loreto at San Felipe Neri, San Miguel de Allende, Mexico. I have not described in detail the various polychromatic accents used on previous retables, but the color here is so indicative of the Querétaro approach that it will serve as a key to the whole series. The long streamers are dark, metallic green with touches of brown; the cloudlets, blue-grey and white with touches of gold; the hearts, of a metallic and lustrous crimson; drapery, matte tones of rose, blue, and beige; the doors at the bottom (opening into tiny cubicles and a passage with access to the pulpit), crimson and gold.

62. Facing the Mother Superior's balcony is a very closely related retable (No. 5). The basic formal difference is that a vitrine with the image of the Virgin is substituted for the balcony and portal. Though connected, there is no duplication, in ornamental configurations on this latter retable, of those on the Mother Superior's balcony work. The great scallop outlining this retable like lace on a Valentine has quite different patterns from the one across the nave. The crimped shell is

somewhat more in evidence, and the C-scrolls look as if touched by some power of shooting out crisp tendrils of foliation. The background surfaces of both pseudo-transept retables are covered with entwining leaf patterns that verge on *rocaille* motifs, although the effect in Santa Clara is nowhere so persuasively European as one saw in the picture frames of the Santa Rosa *coro* screen. Compositionally, the triumph of the ornamental niche-pilaster is complete here, as in Retable 4; and again there is a hint of four pilasters in the recessed duplication of the ornamental niche-pilaster, with composite capitals echoing the capitals at the top of the fantastically ornamented principal niche-pilasters. Marked vertical emphasis is obtained by the attenuated consoles, which break through the entablatures above the ornamental niche-pilasters.

63. cf. a mirror frame from the Salon de Musique at Versailles (decoration by Verbeek) in E. Rümmler, *Le style Louis XV*, Paris, 1914, pl. 81.

64. *L'architecture à la mode*, Paris, 1745, 4 vols.

65. This type of enframing corona is unique in Mexican interior work of this period. It does appear, however, in a

Given something of the feverish gaiety of the international Rococo, the artist here has conjured up his own ardent version of the *Zeitgeist*, undoubtedly also utilizing local sources which have since vanished. Perhaps he was inspired by towering headdresses of Indian *caciques*,⁶⁶ or cut-paper *mandorlas* for processional figures. One does not like to bring such ephemeral sources into prominence, but there is something more than metropolitan Mexican and European influences at play here. A comparable style which develops in the north of Portugal is more definitely Rococo, but it has the same throbbing vitality and organic sensuousness.⁶⁷ The Mother Superior's balcony has already been compared to the balcony in Santa Rosa. The iron-work⁶⁸ is of a different pattern and consoles rather than garlands divide the supporting surfaces of the Santa Clara balcony, but there is the same bulbous ponderosity about the supporting sections of both balconies.

An earlier but important retable at Santa Clara lies between the convent church's double doors (Fig. 13; No. 6 on the plan). Three dominant vertical accents (niche-pilasters and central vitrine with its massed ornament above and below) spring vigorously up from curved, broken cornices that have their European parallels in a door by Buontalenti for the Uffizi and in certain eighteenth century north Portuguese façades.⁶⁹ The ornament here is mannered and fussy, less organically foliate than on most of the other Santa Clara retables. Even the figured background looks like something cut rather than woven, though it has the flickering animation of the other retables' backgrounds.⁷⁰ Two large *faldoncitos* mark the main entablature above the niche-pilasters. The niche is more distinctly evoked by a draped canopy above the figures. We are reminded of Cornejo and Castillo in the many angelic figures hovering on the moldings and broken entablatures, the large spirals at the top of the retable, and the many swags of drapery. The reduplicated pilasters framing the main vitrine are covered with a nervous and thin pattern of garlands, while the draped window silhouettes an assembly of elements that can only be called surreal.

The handsomest parts of this retable are the pair of doors at the outer edges of the lowest level. On the valves are excellent examples of Querétaro *rocaïlle*, strongly conditioned by foliate patterns. The rest of the retable is overly intense. It lacks the assurance of retables Nos. 1, 3, 4, and 5. Though the ornamental niche-pilaster is important, the decorative parts fail to form a compelling totality. The ingenuity is morbid; tatters and bits flash brightly, but the effect is somewhat chaotic. By its incoherence as well as its general style it appears to be the earliest work here.

On the second level of the choir at Santa Clara there are two retables (Fig. 14). The smaller one is of no particular consequence, but the larger one, designed by Maestro Ximénez,⁷¹ has four ornamental niche-pilasters—showing that even in the late stages of the Querétaro style this fundamental division of surface was by no means wholly dormant or suppressed. The decoration

variant form on the side façade portal at La Valenciana, near Guanajuato, Mexico (but only partially completed).

66. Although the feather headdress is common throughout Western European ornament in the period between 1680 and 1750.

67. See Smith, "The Portuguese Wood-carved Retable."

68. At El Pueblito (near Querétaro) in the former convent church of San Francisco, there is a wrought-iron tribune which is very comparable to the iron-work in Santa Rosa and Santa Clara.

69. See Max Semrau, *Die Kunst der Barockzeit und des Rokoko*, 1921, fig. 31; or the façade of Nossa Senhora do Agonia in Viana do Castelo, Portugal.

70. A close parallel (or source?) can be found on a plate by Rosis (Guilmard, *Les maîtres ornementistes*, fig. 111), where the more ordinary basket-weave, from which the Querétaro background patterns developed, can be seen on a container in the upper center. This latter kind of opposed, fiber pattern occurs with regularity from the sixteenth century

in Europe, but it is almost always confined to the baskets supported by caryatids. Note the Cheminée de la Chambre du Roi at the Château Maisons-Lafitte (Rümler, *Le style Louis XIV*, pl. 47). At Córdoba, in the church of San Francisco, there is a chapel (the second on the right from the entrance) with a retable that has a distinct plaited pattern on background panels (an inscription dates the remodeling here at 1772, and the retable is probably closer to that date than to the date of 1673 inscribed on the base of a figure placed in the retable).

71. "Quentas de Recibo y Gasto" of Santa Clara for 1790-1793 (in the collection of Sr. Ignacio Herrera Tejeda, Querétaro, p. 56, vuelta): "Partido N. 137 (en Obras Nuevas): Item, se le reciben en data 2,350 pesos pagados al maestro Ximénez por el colateral de N. S. del Coro Alto, que en 1º de Oct. del citado año (1792) se concluyó." Also "Partido N. 138: Item, se le reciben en data 5 pesos, 4 reales pagados al Patrón Soria por el Blanqueo, Tachuelas y clavason del nicho del referido colateral."

combines a fluent, flat leaf-pattern in panels (similar to the polychromed wooden leaf-patterns on Retable No. 3) with the highly plastic foliation seen also in the nave below. This is certainly a less dramatic and brilliantly conceived work than the vaulting-high retables of the church proper, but it is important in revealing stylistic trends in the early 1790's.

It is apparent now how complex is the style of these retables. Certainly not purely Hispanic, nor purely of the metropolitan Mexican decorative persuasion, there is nevertheless an indelible imprint of ideas formulated especially by Duque Cornejo and Felipe Fernández del Castillo. Rodríguez, under the influence of Hurtado, as Fernández del Castillo also appears to have been, stated the niche-pilaster in his developed *estípite* style of Mexico City; but the closer approximation of the supreme importance of this ornamental niche-pilaster came about the same time in Spain—in the Sagrario of Santa Catalina in Seville. Rodríguez exploited the full implications of Balbás' Mannerist ornament, bringing motifs with angular outlines to their fullest Mexican development. Duque Cornejo and Fernández del Castillo, on the other hand, developed the exuberant, Baroque ornamental aspects of Balbás' style, and it is from them particularly that the motifs of the Querétaro style are derived. Something, too, in a highly personal variant, appears here of the capricious delirium of the international Rococo, but the total result is distinctly conditioned by local ideas.

One of the chief sources of information for eighteenth century Querétaran masters comes from the leisure-hour writings (*Ocios* or *Varias piezas divertidas*) of Tresguerras, the famous Celayan Neo-Classic architect, painter, and poet.⁷² (The long-standing attribution of the interior decoration in Santa Rosa and Santa Clara, Querétaro, to Tresguerras is impossible. Most Mexican art historians have for years discarded this undocumented theory of Sylvester Baxter.⁷³ Tresguerras' birth-date was 1759, rather than 1745, as assumed by Baxter, which makes his employment on these projects as the chief designer untenable, even if it were not apparent that all of his known works are distinctly Neo-Classic.)

Tresguerras describes the work of Ignacio Mariano de las Casas, who gave the plans for the church of Santa Rosa, as of the worst possible taste.⁷⁴ This charge, leveled against other Querétaran architect-designers of the period from 1740 to 1790, simply means that their taste seemed "malísimo" to the Neo-Classicist. There is no specific mention in Tresguerras' writings of the designer of the interiors of Santa Rosa and Santa Clara; but one or more of the men maligned by

72. For Francisco Eduardo de Tresguerras (1759-1833), see Mariscal, *La arquitectura en México*, II, pp. 49-56, where there is documentation for date of birth and a list of possible works by this artist. The manuscript of the *Varias piezas divertidas* is in the library of the Academy of San Carlos, Mexico City. A copy may be consulted at Harvard University (Houghton Library), microfilm U-218. The full title is *Varias piezas divertidas en prosa y verso, por Don Francisco Tresguerras, grabador y profesor de las tres nobles artes*. In Querétaro, Tresguerras' most notable works are the church of Las Teresitas (finished in 1807), and the fountain of Neptune (1797), now placed in the small plaza in front of Santa Clara. His best-known building is the large Neo-Classic church of El Carmen in the town of Celaya (1803-1807).

73. In *Spanish Colonial Architecture in Mexico*, Boston, 1901; text, pp. 167-173.

74. Ignacio Mariano de las Casas was an important Querétaran designer-artisan, born in 1720. Tresguerras (*Varias piezas divertidas*, pp. 265-266) quotes from a Casas manuscript. My interpretation of the first part is that Casas was born in 1720: "Año de 1728. Empese has estudiar Arquitectura de edad de casi ocho años, pues las montañas y trazos que se hicieron para fabricar la Yglsa. y Colegio de Sta Rosa fue Hallado por mi mismo mano, como tambien el que se hizo para la Yglsa. de Sn Agustín." There follows a list of Casas' minor architectural works for the years 1759-1760: "la Enfermeria de Capuchinas . . . la capilla de N. Pe. S.

Domingo [Gudiño was associated with Casas here] . . . el Panteon y entierro de Sta. Clara trase y construío mi insuficiencia." On p. 264 Tresguerras has this to say of Casas' works: "Las obras, pues, q. acreditan al Sr. Casas, son sin duda el Organo de Na Sa de Guadalupe, y el Relox de Sta Rosa." Tresguerras' heavy-handed criticism of Casas is symptomatic of his dislike of the exuberant work of this period. For example: "Casas estudió primero el Dibujo, fue de mucho ingenio, bastante invención, entendió la Gnomonica, parte de la Maquinaria, y sus obras de Arquitectura fueron pocas y desgraciadas . . . en el ensamble o Arquitectura de los Altares, tuvo malissimo gusto" (p. 260); and, "Todas sus obras de ensamble no son las más ridiculas y desarregladas" (p. 264). The only modern monograph available is the little paper by Sr. Heraclio Cabrera, *Don Ignacio Casas, Un grande Ingenio Olvidado; Notas para un estudio*, Querétaro, 1920, which contains little more information than that supplied by Tresguerras. Sr. Cabrera is said to have important papers for the history of Santa Rosa; but none of these is available for study. There are a few entries in the *Protocolos* of Notary 4 in Querétaro which mention Casas. In 1765, he acted as the executor of the will of Doña Prudencia Bernardina de los Dolores y Morales; on December 2, 1766, Don Ignacio and Don Joachin Casas are connected with the deposit of 250 pesos for work on a new chapel of the Third Order of Saint Dominic; in 1768, he clears up a technicality in Doña Prudencia's will.

him is undoubtedly among the long-sought masters of these interiors. Ignacio Mariano de las Casas, more of a cabinetmaker than an architect, is assigned the "templo de San Agustín" in Querétaro by Tresguerras.⁷⁵ (The eighteenth century retables in this particular church were completely destroyed in the nineteenth century, and the existing retable-façade is a far cry from the rich retables of Santa Rosa and Santa Clara.) De las Casas was not a wholly successful architect, for his work on the structure of Santa Rosa had to be reinforced with two massive buttresses by a certain Gudiño.⁷⁶

De las Casas did sign a superb small organ case made for the lower choir of Santa Rosa (seen dimly through Fig. 5),⁷⁷ and its style is closely echoed in the ungilded organ case in the upper choir of Santa Clara (Fig. 8), also by de las Casas. (In the same general group is the organ case for Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe at Querétaro.) Tresguerras says that de las Casas designed "altares," which here means retables; Gudiño is also mentioned in this connection.⁷⁸ Another name has come to prominence recently from the research in archives initiated by Heinrich Berlin of Mexico City. Pedro Joseph de Roxas⁷⁹ was the designer of the retable of Santa Ana (Fig. 20) in the church of San Agustín at Salamanca, Mexico.⁸⁰ He was also responsible for a group of works in towns near Querétaro.⁸¹ Though the Santa Ana retable at Salamanca is even more elaborate than most of the retables at Santa Rosa and Santa Clara, it is definitely within the general confines of the Querétaro style. Finally, one has the name of a certain Maestro Ximénez who did the retable (or retables) in the upper choir of Santa Clara in 1792.⁸²

The census (*Padrón*) of Querétaro of 1791 mentions Ximénez as well as a whole galaxy of minor artisans whose birth-dates and occupations can be judged from this valuable document.⁸³ Unfortunately, research in Querétaro did not reveal information that would completely solve the difficult problems of attributing the retables in Santa Clara and Santa Rosa, aside from one or two works. That such information does exist is quite possible, but it will require a wider survey of Mexican archives than was indicated in the present study. Thus the yearly accounts of Santa Clara before 1790 (only those after 1790 could be traced) would be invaluable, if they exist.⁸⁴ Those of Santa Rosa have disappeared without leaving discernible traces.⁸⁵

75. *ibid.*, p. 260.

76. *ibid.*, p. 264: "El templo de Santa Rosa es obra suya en cuanto al trazo, y si Gudiño no lo sostiene con los Botareles [these are dated by an inscription at 1759], se hubiera perdido todo." Mariscal's suggestion that Gudiño did the interior decoration of Santa Rosa is based on slim evidence, indeed, if the attribution must be founded on a pair of buttresses. There is evidence, however, that Gudiño was a retable designer also; see Mariscal, *La arquitectura en México*, II, p. 13, and note 78 below.

77. cf. note 28 above.

78. Tresguerras, *op.cit.*, p. 260: "Gudiño (tapatio) . . . Algo practicaba en la escultura mas no hizo cosa apreciable en este ramo . . . en la Arquitectura de los Altares siguió la desarreglada de Klauber y aun adelanta los sueños de Borru-mino [sic]."

79. Various spelled Rojas or Roxas. He is mentioned by Tresguerras, *op.cit.*, p. 260. Interesting information about Roxas can be found in his will, filed in 1762 (*Protocolos*, Notary 1, Querétaro). He was born in Mexico City, which may partially account for some of the very sophisticated aspects of his style. Documented works (though some are now destroyed) are known for this master from 1751; see note 81 below.

80. The contract is preserved in Notary 1, Querétaro, and was signed on May 4, 1768.

81. cf. *Protocolos*, Notary 4, Querétaro, for 1752. On the 20th of August, a contract was signed for a *colateral* by Pedro de Rojas for the Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento in the Villa de Cadereita (State of Querétaro): "de tres cuerpos con quatorce varas y quarta de alto (the *vara* equals .88 of a meter) . . . con cinco estatutas . . . en blanco . . . un mil

y quinientos pesos de oro común." (Lt. Colonel Bernardo de Pereda was the co-signer.) In the *Protocolos*, Notary 5, Querétaro (now preserved in the Municipal Archives, although many of the other notaries, including 1 and 4, are to be found in offices on the site of their predecessors), for the 25th of June, 1751, is a contract for a collateral at San Agustín in Celaya (this work is also mentioned in the contract for the Santa Ana retable at San Agustín, Salamanca): "Pedro de Roxas, Maestro de entallador, y vezino de ella, digo que porque. . ."

82. See note 71 above.

83. Two copies exist—one in the Archivo de la Nación, Mexico City, and one in the library of Sr. Ignacio Herrera Tejeda, Querétaro; cf. also Villa, *La escultura colonial mexicana*, pp. 79-82. The entry for Ximénez is "Vicente Ximénez, cacique."

84. These accounts (*Quentas de recibo y gasto*) are arranged in terms of three-year periods, and the only ones which could be traced belong to Señor Don I. Herrera Tejeda of Querétaro. The income of the convent over any three-year period after 1790 averaged 160,000 pesos (for 1790-1792, it was 167,412 pesos); but this was far short of the actual wealth indicated by the books (close to 400,000 pesos per triennium), due to the fact that many of the rents were paid in kind, or not paid at all. It is amusing to note that almost a third of the money expended for food went to purchase chocolate, equally fashionable here as in the chocolate houses of London and Venice.

85. See Mariscal, *La arquitectura en México*, II, p. 9. One of the last curates of Santa Rosa is said to have mentioned that the archives of the "colegio" (de Santa Rosa) had disappeared at the time of the exlaustration in 1864.

Certainly, the principal execution of these Querétaran retables must be laid to a large shop of skilled artisans, working under the direction of a master (or masters) who himself might carve parts of the whole.⁸⁶ The usual division of labor among a group of specialists, observed throughout Spain and Mexico, was undoubtedly followed in Querétaro.⁸⁷ Carvers, joiners, gilders, and masters of polychromy all joined to create the finished work.⁸⁸ The level of craftsmanship in every instance was very high, making the fantasy of the design visually and emotionally appreciable.

Within the general limits of the Querétaro style, Santa Clara provides the most characteristic statement of its compositional and ornamental preferences. Retable No. 2, the *estípita* work, is stylistically the earliest work here, and probably dates from the early 1760's.⁸⁹ Retable No. 6, although a distinct part of the trend away from the architectonic order of the *estípita* retable toward the retable articulated with ornamental niche-pilasters, is still so Manneristic in many ways that it must have been the second major work of this group. Retables Nos. 1, 3, 4, and 5 provide (in that order) increasingly mature realizations of the new compositional and ornamental ideas of the Querétaro style. Retable No. 1 substitutes a more flexible woven background for the stiff angularity of Retable No. 6. Retable No. 3 sounds more strongly the note of lush opulence which is the key to the Querétaro style. The culmination is the magnificent retable with the Mother Superior's balcony. This work must have come to a conclusion about 1790.⁹⁰ In 1792 the documented main retable of the upper choir (by Maestro Ximénez) shows the ornamental niche-pilaster on a smaller scale.⁹¹ The sumptuousness of the nave retables is translated into more fluent terms. In a reversion to four strong vertical accents in the main level of this retable of the *coro alto*, a return to architectonic order that will flower in Neo-Classicism is already presaged. These last four works (retables Nos. 1, 3, 4, and 5) are certainly by the same designer, probably Ignacio Mariano de las Casas, who manifests a similar ornamental style on his documented organ cases. The consistency of certain motifs on all the retables here suggests that Nos. 2 and 6 were also executed by the same shop, although the designer of No. 2, and possibly of No. 6, was not Ignacio Mariano de las Casas. Perhaps in the two latter works one sees the hand of Gudiño, who was in Querétaro after 1759.

The retables of Santa Rosa are even less homogeneous in design, although they too, like the retables in Santa Clara, manifest execution by a shop of craftsmen who carved in a way which marks all the retables of the Querétaro style. From a stylistic point of view, Retable No. 1 is certainly the earliest work at Santa Rosa. Although it is not so close to Rodríguez' work as the *estípita* retable at Santa Clara (No. 2), it is still dominated by the Mannerist ideas of Balbás and Rodríguez. Like Retable No. 6 at Santa Clara, it may represent the work of Gudiño, whom Tresguerras par-

86. Important as figure sculptors in Querétaro were the three Marianos, the best-known of whom were Mariano Arce and Mariano Perusquia; both did works for Santa Clara. The most common wood at this period was cedar. Walnut and mahogany were more often used for choir stalls than for retables.

87. The census of 1791 for Querétaro mentions 19 "Talladores," 23 "Escultores," and 3 "Batihojas." The latter term refers to those who prepared the gold sheets for gilding.

88. H. Berlin ("Salvador de Ocampo," pp. 416ff.) discusses the interweaving of crafts and design in eighteenth century Mexico, and such problems as the incorporation of older material into new work, the attribution of sculpture on retables, the relations of master and assistants.

89. As an instance of the time schedule of a late seventeenth century retable, note Tomás Xuárez' *retablo mayor* at San Agustín, Mexico City (1697-1698), to be completed at the rate of one story every five months (in Berlin, "Ocampo," appendix 1, p. 510). However, such time schedules were not rigid, and the average is no proof of any given group of works. A space of twenty-five years elapsed before such an

important metropolitan commission as the Altar de los Reyes was finally gilded.

90. A person who was able to study the backs and upper parts of these retables in Santa Clara says that the name "Sanabria" is burned into the back of one of the retables and that this same "Sanabria" signed certain paintings here. Such information, while interesting, does not prove anything.

91. Francisco de la Maza has aptly termed this kind of retable *anastilos*—that is, completely without any columnar articulation. There is a very close connection, in style, between the main retable of the *coro bajo* at Santa Clara and the principal retable of the *coro bajo* at La Concepción at San Miguel Allende, Mexico. Both are arranged in terms of an echelon of multiple panels, forming quasi-niche-pilasters at either side of the retable. Both rely heavily on narrow, rectangular panels of *rocaille* decoration, arranged vertically on background surfaces. Unfortunately, the retable in the *coro bajo* at Santa Clara has been partially destroyed, but it is highly probable that Maestro Ximénez is responsible for all the choir retables at Santa Clara and that in the *coro bajo* at La Concepción.

ticularly stigmatized for his Mannerist tendencies. It probably dates from 1765. Compositionally most characteristic of developments of style at Querétaro is the Mother Superior's balcony and retable at Santa Rosa. It is by the designer of the Mother Superior's balcony-retable at Santa Clara, probably Ignacio Mariano de las Casas. The close resemblance between the retable of Santa Ana at San Agustín, Salamanca (1768), by Pedro Joseph de Roxas, and the pseudo-transept retables at Santa Rosa suggests that the latter are also by de Roxas. There is a more sophisticated manipulation of surface and space at Santa Rosa, a marked tendency toward the use of paintings to define space, rather than the plastic definition of ornament which appears at San Agustín. This sophistication is consonant with trends seen in Mexico City about 1770 to 1780.⁹²

The choir screen of Santa Clara is certainly by Ignacio Mariano de las Casas, and dates close to the mature developments of the ornament of the Querétaro style seen in retables Nos. 3 and 4 at Santa Clara. Mariano Perusquia, the sculptor of the *Crucifixion* in the upper part of the choir screen at Santa Clara, was not born until 1771, so it is unlikely that this part of the screen was finished before 1790. The choir screen at Santa Rosa is lighter and defter; it is even more Rococo than de las Casas' brilliant organ case for Santa Rosa (1759). It probably dates from the early 1760's—from the decade which saw the initiation of important decoration in both Santa Rosa and Santa Clara. During this decade there was a rapid transition from the predominantly architectonic and predominantly Mannerist style of Rodríguez to the unarchitectonic and predominantly Baroque-Rococo ornament of the mature Querétaro style. The friendship between de las Casas and de Roxas points to a close collaboration between them in the evolution of this style—a collaboration which reached its fullest fruition between 1768 and 1790 in the matchless work of that period in Santa Rosa and Santa Clara, Querétaro, and in San Agustín, Salamanca.⁹³

Historically, the Querétaro style presents a phenomenon comparable in many ways to the flamboyance of late Gothic—an indefinable combination of *nouveau riche*, superb decorative sense, and a religious fervor that is a curious mixture of sensuous exuberance and sentimental piety.⁹⁴

This style transformed the architectonic definition of the angular *estípita* into a plastic, articulated, but unstructural organization which relies heavily on *rocaille* motifs, basket-work and abstract pattern backgrounds, and a highly inventive sense of surface and plastic definitions. Within this range of formal manipulation, the Salamanca-Querétaro works present a style that is of the greatest technical virtuosity and a significant manifestation of eighteenth century Mexican artistic and religious psychology.

THE RETABLES OF SAN AGUSTÍN, SALAMANCA, AND AN UNGILDED RETABLE FROM LA PARROQUIA, DOLORES HIDALGO

The town of Salamanca, Mexico, is far from the golden splendor of its Spanish prototype. Outside of the fine façade on the old Parroquia, the attenuated silhouette of the drily Neo-Classic Templo del Hospital, and the magnificent Augustinian establishment, there is little more than dust and dilapidation. But the glories of the cloister and church of the Augustinians are full compensation for any other dissatisfaction.⁹⁵ The church itself did not reach its present form until the

92. Especially in the main retable of the Capilla de San Felipe, Mexico City cathedral.

93. In de Roxas' will (*Protocolos*, Notary 1, Querétaro), his worldly goods were inventoried by Ignacio Mariano de las Casas; in this document, de las Casas is called affectionately "perito inteligente." Roxas is variously titled in documents of the period as "maestro de entallador," "tallador," and "maestro de escultura." All point to his prowess as a carver, not as a designer; but for that epoch, the ability to carve presupposed an ability to design. It is obvious, however, that neither de Roxas nor de las Casas could have carved all parts of their retables. The figure sculpture in particular was relegated to other craftsmen, while the master supervised the

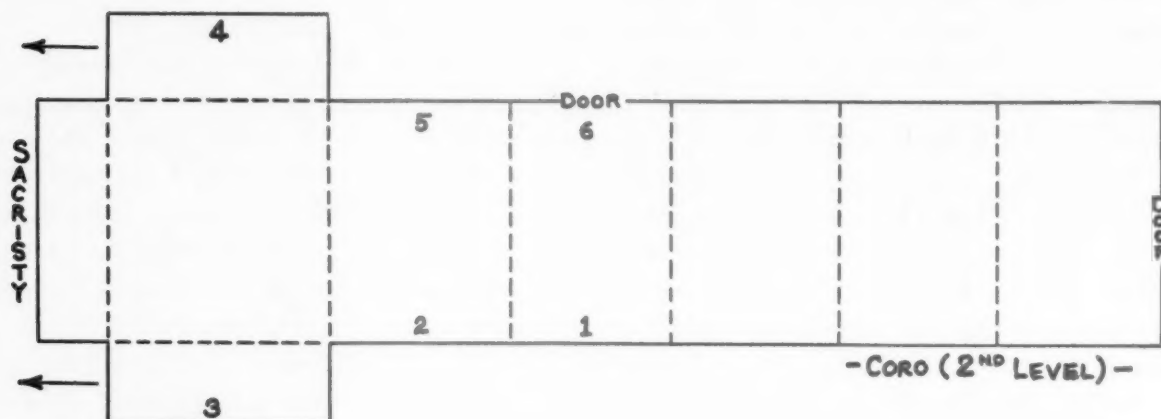
execution of the decorative elements making up the retable, which he had designed.

94. Sr. Toussaint gives an excellent summation of a Mexican art historian's opinion of this style in *Arte colonial* (p. 300), where he suggests that Casas was responsible for the decoration of Santa Clara: "parece ser creación de Mariano de las Casas"; his meaning here is not completely clear, but he qualifies it later (pp. 360-361) to attribute only the *coro* screen of Santa Clara and retables of Santa Rosa to Casas, and the retables of Santa Clara to Gudiño.

95. The second and main cloister of San Agustín dates after 1771; this date coincides in general with the magnificent interior decoration of the church, begun somewhat earlier;

seventeenth century, and the rich interior decoration dates after the middle of the following century.⁹⁶ Recent archival research by Heinrich Berlin has brought to light the name of Pedro Joseph de Roxas as the master of the Santa Ana retable⁹⁷ and it is probable that this master was responsible for the supervision of much of the important work on the church's retables.⁹⁸ The great *retablo mayor*, behind the high altar, was unfortunately replaced in the nineteenth century.⁹⁹

The interior of the Augustinian convent church at Salamanca is a particularly brilliant example of the high level of retable design and execution in eighteenth century Mexico (text fig. 4). The



4. Salamanca, Mexico. San Agustín, floor plan

work here also permits a full revelation of the complexity and implications of the Querétaro style. In the retable of San Nicolás de Tolentino (Fig. 15; No. 5 on the plan), highly plastic decorative motifs rise vertically, and the whole is infused with a powerful, almost organic vitality.¹⁰⁰ The ornamental niche-pilaster is completely free, and forms the dominant compositional aspect of the retable. Many of the motifs from the repertoire of Rodríguez persist at Salamanca, as they did in Querétaro; one notes the use of opposed spirals in high relief and the omnipresent *faldoncito*. A voluptuous rhythm swings the eye from part to part.

It is interesting to note the strong analogy which this retable of San Nicolás de Tolentino presents to the ungilded retable in the right transept of the Parroquia at Dolores Hidalgo (Fig. 16).¹⁰¹ The organization is similar; a long cornice, of marked projection, with scrolled ends divides each retable horizontally. In both, the ornamental niche-pilaster is the dominant method of articulating the main level of the retable. In the case of the Dolores retable, this articulation is backed by four quasi-pilasters, wholly decorative in composition and revealing the last faint imprint of the parts and order of the *estípite*.¹⁰² At Salamanca the pilasters have been completely subordinated to the

cf. Weismann, *Mexico in Sculpture*, p. 213 (note to figs. 123 and 124).

96. For the act of foundation of this convent, see *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones estéticas*, Mexico City, No. 17, pp. 46-51. A royal *cédula* was obtained in 1609, but the actual foundation did not take place until 1615, Fray Juan Caballero being provincial. The final consecration took place in 1706. Fray Reginaldo Vega, Augustinian friar now resident in Querétaro, has some interesting material on the history of this church; but it is difficult to assess the true value of the material, since much of it conflicts with information from archives.

97. Heinrich Berlin has already presented the contract for this *retablo* to the scholarly world, at the XXIXth International Congress of Americanists, New York, September 1949. It is preserved in the *Protocolos* of Querétaro's Notary No. 1. The contract was signed on May 4, 1768, and describes the Salamancan *retablo* in considerable detail, with reference to the "cinco misterios de los de la vida de la santa [Ana]," which I call *tableaux vivants*.

98. Fray Reginaldo Vega has information which suggests a total cost of 70,000 pesos.

99. Fray Reginaldo Vega, formerly in residence at Salamanca (but now at Querétaro), suggests that it is a work of Tresguerras, not improbable in this area so close to Tresguerras' home town of Celaya.

100. cf. Santa Clara, O Porto, Portugal; Fig. 3 of this article.

101. Lack of gilding is an exception at this period—probably due to lack of funds. The wood still retains its characteristic fragrance; cf. Toussaint, *Paseos coloniales*, p. 207: "Según Don Pedro González, en sus *Apuntos* . . . se atribuye a Don M. Hidalgo la conservación de este retablo sin permitir que se dorara, pero hay que observar que el retablo es muy anterior al año de 1803 en que el Padre de la Patria pasó al curato de Dolores."

102. cf., in this instance, the similar retention of traditional architectural articulation in the transept retables at Santa Rosa, Querétaro.

ornamental niche-pilaster, serving as mere cascades of scrolls and *rocaille* motifs.¹⁰³ Morphologically if not chronologically speaking, the Salamancan work is a later stage of the change from the Manneristic, pseudo-architectural *estípita* style to the Querétaro style, with its articulation wholly in terms of ornamental niche-pilasters, and its lush ornamental repertoire strongly touched by motifs from the Baroque and Rococo. Notable in both retables, however, is the scintillating background pattern of criss-cross and interlace patterns, approximating woven designs, unique in retables of the Querétaro style.¹⁰⁴ The variety of these patterns shows the fecundity of Querétaran craftsmen-designers.

A nearby retable (No. 6 on the plan) is actually a surround for the lateral portal of the church—the portal in this instance taking the place of the vitrine where the saint of dedication is usually placed. A detail from the upper center of this portal retable (Fig. 17) shows the Mannerist aspect of this Salamancan work. High relief spirals,¹⁰⁵ paired or in opposition, and the *faldoncito* with spiral “ears,”¹⁰⁶ silhouetted against the window, are characteristic of much of the so-called Mexican “Churrigueresque.” But the superb low reliefs of *rocaille* leaf forms and the coruscating, patterned background surfaces (upper right) show connections with the Querétaro style. The unarchitectonic character of this portal-retable is evident from the quasi-pilaster, created out of spiral and scroll forms.

Across the nave are two retables (Fig. 18; Nos. 1 and 2 on the plan) which provide additional evidence of the rich variety of the work here. One is dedicated to Santa Rita de Casia (No. 1). Again the lower level is articulated by quasi-pilasters on high bases, as in the San Nicolás retable. Here, however, the scheme is of single vertical elements on either side, rather than a pair framing salient masses of decorative elements. There is actually a pilaster form at the base of this vertical accent in the Santa Rita retable, but the overlay of scrolls, shells, flat moldings, and medallions quite obscures its architectural effect. The basket-work background here emerges as a great diagonal checkerboard of notched squares. This, along with the simulated drapery behind the figure of Santa Rita above the vitrine, immeasurably enhances the sense of suspension of the quasi-pilaster, scenes and figures against the dazzling wealth of a golden cascade spilling from under the deep cornice. This cornice is also interesting as a reversal of the form seen on the San Nicolás and Dolores retables, scrolled ends being opposed over the center of the retable of Santa Rita.

The balance between surface illusionism and organization of parts is resolved in a different, but equally masterful, manner on the great retable devoted to Santo Tomás de Villanueva (Fig. 19; No. 2 on the plan). The section corresponding to the principal level of the retables of Santa Rita and San Nicolás is here compressed to approximately half their height. The same general disposition of parts prevails within this more limited scale. A pair of pilasters articulates each side of the retable, but the principal plastic development of the lower level falls on the axis of the inner pilaster on each side, instead of between the articulating elements. The use of paired and opposed spirals is strikingly like that on the portal retable. The combination of spirals and scrolls in high relief with leaf and *rocaille* motifs in low relief (confined to definitely established panels) is not only particularly characteristic of the smaller retables at San Agustín, but very comparable to the principal retable in the Sagrario at El Carmen, San Luis de Potosí. The *faldoncito* also

103. Both works are closely related in the main elements of their composition to Retable No. 3 at Santa Clara, Querétaro.

104. See Lajoue, et al., *Dessins*, Paris, 1752 (Bib. Nat. Hd 64). The full title is *Recueil de dessins pour meubles et pour ornements. Exécutés en partie: le surplus projeté*; cf. p. 16—basket-work in the Salamanca manner with an overlaid spiral, used as background for an enframed area on a ceiling. Note also, in this collection of designs, the baskets on pp. 4 and 5; also an inlay pattern on a console commode with ormolu mounts, p. 33.

105. Cf. the high relief spirals of Salamanca, Mexico, with the Scamozzi decoration in the Anticollégio of the Doge's Palace (Paul Schubring, *Die Kunst der Hochrenaissance in Italien*, Munich, 1924, pl. 445).

106. This enrichment of the *faldoncito* is particularly popular in the Salamancan retables. The reader's attention is also called to the highly stylized flower in the upper splay of the window reveal—perhaps suggested by an Oriental flower motif.

appears prominently in both the retables of El Carmen and Santo Tomás—asserting the power of the Mexican “Churrigueresque” ornamental vocabulary in the midst of this Rococo fantasy.

Between the lower level and the window level there is a magnificent pierced screen (*celosía*) which does not, however, interfere with the principal articulation of the retablo. S- and C-curves, pierced and serrated leaf forms, intermingle to form an ensemble comparable to the finest invention of a Hoppenhaupt.¹⁰⁷ The juxtaposition of work so obviously influenced by the international Rococo with the more mannered “Churrigueresque” elements in the lower section of the retablo indicates the synthetic ability of the designer here.¹⁰⁸ On a simple articulating framework, always kept as an element of order in the total composition, is formed a decorative scheme which strains the very limits of architectural organization. The high plasticity of the lower section expands formal limits in whirling spirals and abstractly foliated surfaces. The screen opens the space behind the altar, and creates highly complex patterns of light and dark to dissolve further the limitations of the relatively flat surface.

The transept retables at Salamanca's San Agustín are undoubtedly the most theatrical of this whole ensemble. These two retables are closest to the particular type of ornamental vocabulary, almost completely translated into Baroque terms, of the work in Santa Clara and Santa Rosa of Querétaro. The retablo of Santa Ana by de Roxas¹⁰⁹ (1768) (Fig. 20; No. 3 on the plan) shows the striking use of the *tableau vivant* in these transept retables at Salamanca—the *tableau* very probably translated from *pasos* (groups of figures creating a scene from the Bible), which were used in religious pageants or church festivals of that period. Overlaying this Mexican version of the *theatrum sacrum* is the lush growth of artificial Baroque decoration. Pilasters, though emphasized in their projection from the surface of the retablo by the broken cornice, base blocks, and swelling plasticity of ornamental motifs, are so completely unarchitectonic in composition that one cannot see in them the “mock” architectural aspect of the equally non-structural *estípite*. The *mélange* of scroll and *rocaille* motifs which form these quasi-pilasters seems to spill from the bracketed cornice, rather than to uphold it. This effect, as well as the suspended animation of the figure groups, is heightened by the brilliant relief surface pattern in the background.

Even closer in detail to work in Querétaro is the extensive use of openwork crowns,¹¹⁰ of draped niches, of figures poised against the light of a window. A comparison of a transept retablo at Santa Rosa in Querétaro (Fig. 7) with that of Santa Ana at Salamanca will show this strong interconnection. In both, the great open-ribbed crown, projecting from the center of the main cornice, sustains a figure silhouetted against the full light of a window. Beneath each crown is a draped canopy, which enlarges the spatial implications of the center of each retablo. In the retablo of Santa Ana¹¹¹ it creates a deep niche to enframe the figure of Saint Anne and the young Virgin; and here it seems more truly allied to the subsidiary plastic *bravura* of the crowned niches between the quasi-pilasters. In the Guadalupe retablo at Santa Rosa the canopy provides a dramatic accent for the vitrine, but the plasticity of the side elements of the Santa Ana retablo are here translated into two-dimensional, pictorial terms. The central portion of the Guadalupe retablo seems to

107. cf. Salon of the Palazzo Brignole-Sale at Genoa (A. E. Brinckmann, *Die Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1915, p. 102) for its shells and S-curved decorative elements with pierced work.

108. For a Mexican art historian's interpretation of the influence of the Rococo, see Villa, *La escultura colonial mexicana*, pp. 70-71: “En . . . Salamanca dirigía la ornamentación un gusto nuevo que no tenía nada de común con lo hispánico. Ese gusto era el francés, introducido en España por los Borbones a principios del siglo. A la Colonia llegó más tarde, como era natural.”

109. cf. notes 79 and 81 above. Also see Tresguerras, *Varias piezas divertidas*, p. 260: “Roxas [Mexicano] nos dexo solamente obras de colaterales desarregladas, y casi uniformes,

usaba en ellos pocas figuras, pero las mas como dice el Italiano [en Celaya, Salvatierra, y esta Ciudad he visto . . . obras de Roxas.] ‘de alquiler,’ y una especie de Ninfas siempre ociosas, fue rival en igual grado q^e Casas, de Gudiño, que a su pesar disfrute los elogios de la gente vulgar y de cuenta.”

110. Note the illustration in Marqués de Lozoya, *Historia del arte hispánico*, Barcelona, 1931-49, IV, fig. 142—a set for Calderón's *La fiera, el rayo y la piedra*, given in Valencia in 1690 (*putti* are dangling from the openwork crown at the top of the engraving).

111. That dedicated to Santa Ana is in the left transept (facing the altar); the retablo and altar, of the right transept, are dedicated to San José and here are to be seen various scenes in *tableau* form from the life of the saint.

spring forth to engulf much of the space before the retable, while the paintings, instead of paralleling this aggressiveness, extend the spatial domain of the retable backward. This latter use of plastic elements and space is more sophisticated than that at Salamanca, and points to a later and more mature development of the implications of the Santa Ana retable.¹¹² (This forward and backward spatial inclusiveness is more nearly paralleled in the Santo Tomás retable at Salamanca.)

The close relationship in approach to and use of ornament in Salamanca and Querétaro is obvious, revealing the rich, luxuriant development of late Baroque and Rococo motifs as well as the highly individual Mexican elements which also enter here.

I have already suggested (at the conclusion of the section on Santa Rosa and Santa Clara, Querétaro) the identity of the most significant masters of the Querétaro style. The magnificent inventiveness of the work at San Agustín, Salamanca, suggesting a more controlled and sustained brilliance of decorative fantasy and design than the heterogeneous appearance of the interior of Santa Rosa, Querétaro, or even the sumptuous sensuousness of Santa Clara, points to the guiding hand of one designer or to close collaboration between two men of similar ideas. That Pedro Joseph de Roxas is the author of the Santa Ana (and by analogy, of the San José) retable at San Agustín (1768) is proved by documentary evidence.¹¹³ Who the designer of the nave retables here might be is still problematic. The superb interlace of scrolls in the *celosía* of Retable No. 4 suggests very distinctly the work of Ignacio Mariano de las Casas. Perhaps de Roxas called in his friend as co-worker in this important commission from the Augustinian fathers. It seems highly plausible, from what one has already seen of the marked similarity between the nave retables at San Agustín and retables Nos. 1 and 3 at Santa Clara, that the latter designer (de las Casas) is also responsible for the Salamanca work. If so, he manifests an amazing inventiveness in the manipulation of ornament and articulating elements on his retables. The final result, in these nave retables, is much closer to the fundamental compositional ideas of the Querétaro style than the more architectonic, if highly fluid, transept retables of de Roxas here at San Agustín. The total effect of this dazzling ensemble also owes much to the high level of execution in the Querétaro workshops, where most of the work must have been done. The retables of the nave are later than those in the transept, paralleling mature developments in Santa Clara, Querétaro (ca. 1770-1790).¹¹⁴

112. For the retable of San José in the opposite transept, cf. Villa, *La escultura colonial mexicana*, p. 70: "fabricado hacia 1771, porque en él renace con indudable originalidad la escultura de agrupaciones usada hasta el siglo XVII en España. Este retablo está concebido con visión amplia y diáfana; y su ejecución es muy fina. No me recuerda nada español. En el cuerpo central o medio hay tres escenas cobijadas por enormes coronas que hacen veces de doseles. Este tema de las grandes coronas (usado en San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo, por el maestro Juan Guas, a fines del XV) presta al conjunto cierta majestad real. Las escenas corresponden a La Visión de Jacob (?), Jesús hallado en el Templo y la Muerte de San José. Más arriba, en el tercer cuerpo, hay dos pasajes bíblicos todavía: Los Desposorios y La Huida a Egipto. Estos dos me parecen los más ingenuos y de sabor popular. El escultor es más ducho en tallar ángeles que otras figuras. El de La Visión de Jacob es precioso de actitud; está lleno de buen aire o de gracia; y en su modelado no hay nada de poquedad ingenua." Sr. Moreno Villa errs in talking of a "Visión de Jacob"; it is more plausibly described as the announcement of Joseph's death by an angelic messenger.

113. De Roxas (variously spelled Rojas or Roxas) drew up his will in 1762, though he was to live for many years beyond that date. (The document is to be found in the *Protocolos*, Notary 1, Querétaro.) Note the following: "Yo . . . tallador, originario de la ciudad de México y Vezino

de esta de Santiago de Querétaro, Hijo legítimo de Miguel de Rojas y de María Theresa López, vecinos que fueron de dicha ciudad de México, ya defuntos." He wishes to be buried in the church of La Santa Cruz, wearing the habit of a Third Order Franciscan. He was twice married: "casado . . . con Ana María Herrera, ya defunta," who bore him one son, Nicolás Rodrigo de Rojas y Herrera. His second wife was Doña María Guadalupe del Valle y Pozadas, who bore him two daughters, María Gertrudis and María Josepha. (Both were minors in 1762.) Roxas' worldly goods in 1762, handsomely augmented by his two wives' dowries, were inventoried by his friend, Ignacio Mariano de las Casas, and amounted to 16,952 pesos.

114. There exists at Yuriripundaro, in the archives of the great Augustinian house there, a manuscript which is entitled *Estado general del Convento de los Agustinos de San Juan de Sahagún de Salamanca*, dated 1852. (Most of the archives from the Salamancan church were transferred to Yuriria in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.) This manuscript is a complete inventory of the contents of church and monastery at that time; but although the retables are described in great detail, there is no mention of dates or masters for them, which would permit us to link other works at Salamanca than the Santa Ana retable to de Roxas, or to one of the Querétaran masters like Casas.

CONCLUSION

It is fitting to conclude this study of Spain and Mexico in the eighteenth century with these works, which are a masterly vindication of the power of Mexican designers to create retables that are, if anything, more impressive than those in Spain. An air of apology for provincialism, so often found in writing about Mexico, is shown by such evidence to be unnecessary. Admittedly, most of the formative ideas came from Spain, and most were given distinguished statement in Mexico by great Hispanic masters who established themselves in the New World. But that Mexican designers were able to go ahead and produce something which reveals a dazzling ornamental virtuosity, as well as an ability to organize detail into a compelling ensemble, is proof that by the end of the eighteenth century there were correlative developments in mother and colonial country. These developments are given excellent expression in a number of metropolitan works in Mexico, but the most impressive single interior of the whole period is located in the provincial town of Salamanca.

After this furious crescendo of ornamental fantasy had reached its apex, there was an inevitable reaction. Starting about 1790 in Mexico City, a wave of the more deliberate and formal Neo-Classic style that had been growing for a generation in Europe spread over Mexico.¹¹⁵ As in all radical changes of fashion, there was a desire to emulate the new and destroy the old. Many fine works of the eighteenth century perished, as they had caused previous works to disappear. Throughout the land, white and gold altars (now shrinking from the vaulting-high retables of the later eighteenth century) rose in a new flush of stylistic exultation.¹¹⁶ The leader of the movement in Mexico City was Manuel Tolsa, from Valencia, Spain.¹¹⁷ The chief provincial acolyte at the new flame of fashion was Francisco Eduardo Tresguerras.¹¹⁸ Neo-Classicism as such does not fall within the limits of this work, but as transition from the niche-pilaster to Neo-Classical columnar articulation, there are excellent examples in the transept retables flanking the triumphal arch at Santo Domingo in Puebla. In succeeding decades, after 1795 particularly, the cold chill and calm order of such a retable as that in the parochial church at Texcoco replaces the exuberance of the eighteenth century.

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115. cf. Toscano, "Los estilos clásicos de México," *Universidad*, III, No. 15, April 1937; Mariscal, "El neo-clásico borbónico en México," *Artes plásticas*, No. 3, Autumn 1940; also see Villa, *La escultura colonial mexicana*, pp. 73-77; de la Maza, *Retablos dorados de Nueva España*, pp. 42-43; for the Neo-Classic in Spain, see A. M. Calzada y Echevarría, *Historia de la arquitectura española*, Barcelona, 1933, pp. 400-401. The following notice from the *Gaceta de México*, April 21, 1789, suggests the importance of Neo-Classic forms at this time: "Durango. La Santa Iglesia Catedral re-edificada nuevamente con cinco naves . . . al estilo jónico y dórico."

116. See Toussaint, et al., *Iglesias de México*, v, pp. 84-87.

117. Tolsa arrived in Mexico in 1791 with 77 cases of casts after ancient sculpture; cf. Marqués de Lozoya, *Historia del arte hispánico*, IV, pp. 490-497, and bibliography, p. 498; also Sola, *Historia del arte hispano-americano*, pp. 48-50.

118. In addition to Mariscal's work, see M. Romero de Terreros y Vinent, "El arquitecto Tresguerras, 1745-1783," *Anales del Museo nacional*, Mexico City, series 4, v, No. 1, 1927; also E. Gallo, *Hombres ilustres mexicanos*, Mexico, 1. Cumplido, 1874-1875, 4 vols. (cf. III, pp. 105-112); and E. Macedo y Arbau, "Los denuestos impetuosos de Tresguerras el genial," *Azulejos*, Mexico, 1, No. 2.

JAPANESE BUILDINGS

IN THE UNITED STATES BEFORE 1900:

Their Influence upon American Domestic Architecture

CLAY LANCASTER

THE Japanese elements incorporated in contemporary American dwellings are now so numerous and readily recognized that it is no longer necessary to argue the fact of Far Eastern inspiration. The small house, essentially of wood, in close communion with its setting, having a flexible plan and sliding screen walls, with built-in furniture, restraint of decoration, and quiet color schemes largely achieved by the use of unpainted woods and other natural materials, is prevalent throughout America. There remains, however, some question with regard to the exact source, the date, and the manner in which the Japanese characteristics were first accepted.¹

Several factors were responsible for the adoption of Japanese architectural features. First to be mentioned is the spirit of venture and of adventure inherent in the American people. This manifested itself in the Perry Expedition to Japan during 1853-1854, which resulted in the opening-up of the Archipelago Empire, closed to the West since the unfortunate encounter with European missionaries early in the seventeenth century. Reports and products from Japan were received in America originally as curiosities and later with genuine interest. Our newly discovered neighbor to the west was thought of as an important participant in our international life, and any increase in our knowledge and understanding of the Japanese was considered desirable. From Europe came additional realization of the value of Japanese culture; Western painters, potters, poster designers, and cabinetmakers were imitating Far Eastern arts with considerable vigor, and with keener insight than ever before.² Artists, such as the Englishman Mortimer Menpes, followed by the American Helen Hyde, went to Japan to create; and leaders in the arts of design, notably Samuel Bing, the chief French protagonist of Art Nouveau, and Arthur Lasenby Liberty, the world-famous British textile manufacturer, made the pilgrimage to Yamato to observe and learn. However, although European painting and the minor arts were greatly affected by those of the Far East, the influence on European architecture was not as great as on American. Here the Far East helped to shape not just the dream world of painting and the engaging appliques of decoration, but became part of the blood-and-bone, realistic, practical art of American architecture.

Only a fraction of the American familiarity with Japanese building was gained in Japan itself prior to the beginning of the present century, after which Cram, Wright, Neutra, Raymond, and others of our best architects worked, lectured, and investigated the native architecture in Japan; and, with one prominent exception, practically all of the American literature on Japanese architecture has been published since 1900; yet the Japanese manner was firmly established before that date. The nineteenth century exception was Edward S. Morse's *Japanese Houses and Their Surroundings* (Boston, 1886), a comprehensive volume, copiously illustrated, that remained unrivaled in its field for well over a half-century, and which must be given credit for its share in

1. See articles in the catalogue of an exhibition of architectural photographs at the San Francisco Museum of Art, *Domestic Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Region*, 1949; and, more recently, the introduction to the article, "Japanese Architecture and the West," in *Magazine of Building—Architectural Forum*, January 1953, pp. 138-149. Attention is

called also to the seminar held at the 85th Convention of the A.I.A. during June 1953, in which Antonin Raymond and Harwell Hamilton Harris took part in the panel, "Oriental Influences on American Art and Architecture."

2. See the author's "Oriental Contributions to Art Nouveau," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXIV, 1952, pp. 297-319.

winning both laymen and architects to Far Eastern architecture, supplying the latter with detailed technical data.³ The other source—or sources—was more direct than the printed works, and consisted of actual buildings, fashioned originally in Japan, transported in pieces, and put up in this country by Japanese carpenters. Three groups of such buildings were erected during the last quarter of the nineteenth century: one on the East coast, one in the Great Lakes region, and the third in California. This enabled Americans in three sections of the country to make a minute examination of Japanese buildings at first hand. That some imprint of Japanese architecture appeared in houses built in the vicinity of each of these constructions soon afterward indicates that the early examples of Japanese influence derived from the three sets of importations.

The "Chinese taste" of the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century had led, in this country, sometimes to a charming, but always to a superficial copying of architectural style. The *fin-de-siècle* Japanese inspiration was something quite different, because American designers had become less romantic, and were interested primarily in the problem of building, rather than in the art of ornamenting. Architecture, to them, was structure and not dress. To some extent, to be sure, the romantic viewpoint persevered—at least up to the beginning of World War I—but the more rational approach predominated. The earlier phase of borrowing from the Far East, as is known, had drawn upon China, and the Chinese art available was the elaborate art of the declining Ch'ing Dynasty (beginning A.D. 1644); whereas in the later phase the source of inspiration was Japan, where a vital taste for things simple still prevailed, and where a considerable amount of ancient architecture (up to 1,200 years old) was preserved, which was not the case in China. The American "discovery" of Japanese architecture at this moment was, therefore, a timely occurrence.

The first authentic Japanese building in the United States was at the 1876 Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia, commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Japan was the only Asian country to participate in the Exhibition, and the Japanese pavilion—according to the *Centennial Portfolio*—"during its erection, created more curiosity and attracted infinitely more visitors than any other building on the grounds." The materials, mainly cedar, sent by ship to California and then across the continent by train, amounted to fifty carloads. The *Philadelphia Times* recorded that the townspeople gathered to "laugh at the uncouth mechanical operations of the flat-nosed and tawny-featured Orientals," who had come to erect the building (Fig. 1).⁴ Japanese building methods may have seemed strange to Americans, but they proved efficient; and the *Portfolio* declared this building "the best-built structure on the Centennial grounds . . . as nicely put together as a piece of cabinet-work."⁵ The author of the souvenir booklet had hit upon an important point in this last statement: Far Eastern architecture relies upon precision of workmanship rather than upon bulk of materials for structural strength.

The Japanese pavilion at the Philadelphia fair was a two-story, U-shaped dwelling measuring 84 by 44 feet, with an off-center doorway (Fig. 2).⁶ The building was timber framed; the first floor walls were of latticework, and the upper level was enclosed by movable, solid wood panels or rain doors (*amado*), with box-like closets (*to-bukuro*) for the storage of the panels projecting on either side of the entrance porch at the front of the house, and at the end corner of each flank. The frontispiece was enlivened with carved bird and plant forms. In contrast to the natural-colored woods below were the glistening black tiles of the roofs.

3. Copyrighted in 1885, this book was published the following year by Ticknor and Company, Boston, and also by Sampson Low, London; and it was brought out again by Harper and Brothers, New York, in 1889, identical in format and number of pages and illustrations.

4. Fig. 1 is from Frank H. Norton, *Illustrated Historical*

Register of the Centennial Exhibition . . ., New York, 1879, p. 64.

5. Thompson Westcott, *Centennial Portfolio: A Souvenir of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1876, p. 22.

6. Fig. 2 is from *ibid.*, pl. 22.

The *Centennial Portfolio* described the interior as being laid "with costly carpets of odd design. The walls . . . [were] hung with curtains of vegetable fibre, which keep out the sun, but admit the air." It is not stated whether the usual straw mats covered the floor in addition to the "costly carpets." Perhaps *tatami* were not deemed sturdy enough to resist Americans' hard-shod feet. The interior—unless crowded with displays—must have looked rather barren to the Victorians, who gloried in their overstuffed and overornamented rooms.

There was another Japanese building at the Philadelphia fair of 1876, the Japanese Bazaar, a low, unpretentious pavilion, in front of which was a suggestion of a Japanese garden, in contrast to the apparent lack of landscaping around the larger building (Fig. 3).⁷

The Eastern influence began to take root in America during the next few years. In the March 27, 1880, issue of the *American Architect and Building News*, for the first time the term "bungalow" is applied to a plain, low American house. Of course, the word "bungalow" comes from the Bengali (Indian) rather than from the Japanese; but it was soon used to designate small houses inspired by the Far East. The earliest design for a bungalow in the *American Architect* was a sea-side dwelling by W. G. Preston, to be built entirely of wood except for the fireplace and chimneys. It was beholden to no particular style: flat-bargeboard gables were combined with hipped roofs; the porch that surrounded three sides of the lower story was upheld by slender upright posts having braces branching at 45-degree angles and connecting with the lintel beam.⁸

On July 3 of the same year, the *American Architect and Building News* presented a "Small Summer House" at Kennebunkport, Maine, by Henry Paston Clark, having discernible Japanese influence (Fig. 4). An eclectic structure with Baroque cupola, corner windows, and Tudor-arched porch, the projecting central bay of the overhanging porch is Far Eastern in its delicate and reserved detail. Of importance are the pattern of the railing and the full-length screen window. To the left in the rendering a couple sit in the shade of a Japanese parasol, contemplating a sailing vessel that resembles a Chinese junk.

In the fall of 1880 (September 18) the same periodical printed a sketch for another small house showing more of the same influence; it is a "Cottage for U. S. Grant, Jr.," which, I am informed by the daughter of the intended client, was never constructed.⁹ Designed by Bassett Jones, the cottage was to have been built at Asbury Park, New Jersey (Fig. 5). The airiness of the porches may remind one of the galleries on New Orleans houses of the beginning of the nineteenth century; but the simple play of vertical and horizontal members in the railing, the sensitively shaped skirt beneath the bottom rail, and the latticework below the second-floor level are of Eastern origin.

However, the effect of the exhibits at the Centennial might better be termed an enthusiasm for things Japanese rather than a genuine influence. As with the *chinoiserie* of an earlier date, it often manifested itself as applied interior style. The Japanese room in the Dr. E. H. Williams house at 101 North 33rd Street, Philadelphia, is a characteristic example of the exuberance with which Victorian taste expressed itself in the Far East idiom (Fig. 6).¹⁰ Temple and pagoda roofs, panels, friezes, dado, glass-paned doors, mirrors, and shelves are assembled with Eastern paintings, furnishings, and fixtures in a cluttered frenzy. The same ostentation occurred in a number of contemporary New York residences, such as in the apartment of Louis C. Tiffany on East 26th Street, and in Dr. William A. Hammond's house at Fifth Avenue and 54th Street, especially in the latter's Japanese bedroom with its painted ceiling resembling that of a tea house, its frieze

7. Fig. 3 is from Norton, *op.cit.*, p. 271.

8. See the author's "Indian Influence on the American Architecture of the XIX Century," *Marg* (Bombay), vi, No. 2, ca. March 1953, pp. 6-21, fig. 24. The house devoid of historic style was in process of development in the summer cottage and resort buildings beginning just before the middle of the nineteenth century, and traceable back to the publications of A. J. Downing. See the chapter, "The Stick Style,

1840-1890," in Antoinette F. Downing and Vincent J. Scully, Jr., *The Architectural Heritage of Newport, Rhode Island*, Cambridge, Mass., 1952, pp. 117-140.

9. Letter to the author from Mrs. E. C. King, La Jolla, Calif., of May 24, 1952.

10. Fig. 6 is from *Artistic Houses*, New York, 1883-1884, 1, pt. 2.

of *ukiyo-e* or genre prints, and display of fans and ceramics—not to mention the miniature parasols affixed to the gas lighting fixture (Fig. 10).¹¹ A more creative use of the Japanese manner is to be seen in the hall of the H. Victor Newcomb house at Elberon, New Jersey, by McKim, Mead, & White, 1881, in which the beams are slender, and groups run at right angles to others in various areas of the ceiling; and a geometrical fret design is carried out on the floor (Fig. 7).¹² The windows are arranged in great recessed banks at either side, with an interlaced screen spanning the upper portion of these recesses, a reasonable facsimile of the Japanese *ramma*. The fireplace, although large and quattrocento, is pushed to one side, so that it becomes an incidental item rather than dominating the end of the room. Another feature that is Far Eastern is the multi-purpose quality of this large hall, which functions as a sort of general living room. The *mêlée* of late seventeenth century chairs with turned or roped members, longhorn steer and wicker chairs, Baroque console table, sculptures on column pedestals, easels, tiger-skin rug, and an Eastern bronze censer in the shape of an elephant with a pagoda on his back unfortunately interferes with the appeal the room otherwise might have.

The Japanese exhibits at the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876 had been among the earliest efforts of the Nipponese to familiarize the West with their culture; to my knowledge, its only notable predecessor was at the Vienna Exposition three years previously. The Japanese also accepted the invitation to participate in the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893. Here a site was provided on the Wooded Island in the Lagoon, a fortunate selection inasmuch as the straightforward construction of the Imperial Japanese Commission stood apart from the overwhelming classic examples of the McKim-Burnham-Atwood-and-Hunt Beaux-Arts architecture (Fig. 8).¹³ Called the Hōō-den, the name and form of the building were taken from those of the mid-eleventh century Hōō-dō, or Phoenix Hall, of the Byōdō-in (monastery) at Uji near the old capital of Kyoto. *Hōō* means "phoenix" in Japanese; and the five-part composition represents the body and outspread wings of this mythical bird, the original temple hall at Uji having an additional wing on an axis at the back of the principal pavilion, signifying the long tail of the phoenix. The building in Japan houses a gigantic bronze image of Amida Buddha, whereas its counterpart in Chicago, reduced in size, was fitted up like a palace, *dō*, "hall" (meaning religious hall), changed to *den*, "pavilion" (for secular use).

Following the policy established at Philadelphia, the Chicago pavilion was sent in pieces and assembled by Japanese workmen. It was built of unpainted wood, plaster, straw, and paper, the roof covered with sheet copper (Fig. 9).¹⁴ The interiors featured three major periods of Japanese art, beginning with the Fujiwara (897-1185), consistent with the exterior style, which dominated the left wing of the Hōō-den. The floor was high and the columns round, instead of square as in the architecture of later periods. Also, sliding doors being a later invention, the room was provided with vertical shutters kept up by means of metal hooks during the day to admit light, and let down at night. The *tatami*, or floor mats, covered only a portion of the apartment, reserved for conversation. The *ramma*, or transoms, were paper covered and ornamented with paintings.

The interior style of the right wing was of the Ashikaga Era (1397-1568), the formative period of modern Japan. This pavilion was divided into two rooms, a library and tea room, which show the quiet elegance of the times (Fig. 11).¹⁵ Separated by sliding doors, to one side of each room was a *tokonoma*, or alcove, for displaying art objects. Furnishings of both wings were sparse, consisting primarily of ornamental pieces on shelves, hanging scrolls, and tea and incense utensils. By contrast, the central hall was lavishly embellished, based upon the design of the apartments of

11. Fig. 10 is from *ibid.*, I, pt. 2.

12. Fig. 7 is from *ibid.*, II, pt. 1.

13. Fig. 8 is from A. Witteman, *The World's Fair, Chicago, 1893*, New York, 1893.

14. Fig. 9 is from *The World's Columbian Exposition Re-*

produced, Chicago, 1894, pl. 2.

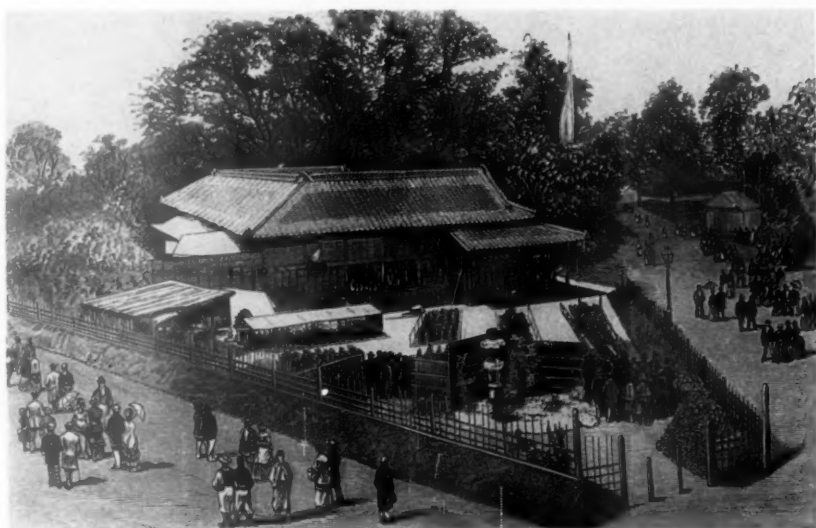
15. Fig. 11 is from Okakura Kakuzō, *The Hō-ō-den (Phoenix Hall), An Illustrated Description . . .*, Chicago, 1893, p. 21.



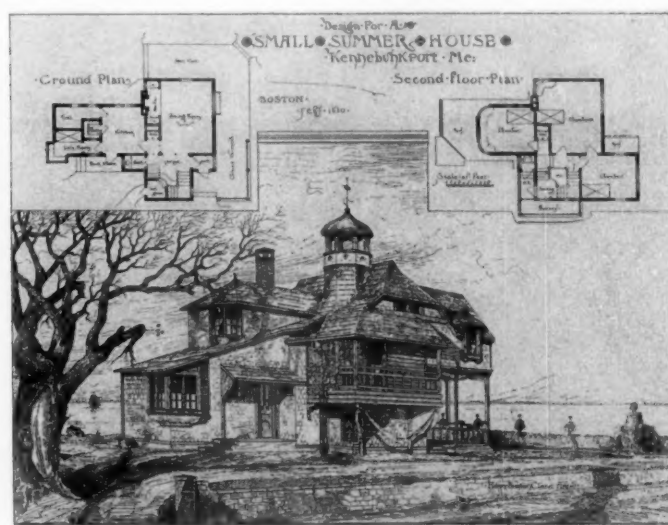
1. Japanese workmen laying foundation of Japanese Building, Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, 1876



2. Japanese Dwelling, Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, 1876



3. The Japanese Bazaar, Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, 1876



4. Design for a small summer house, Kennebunkport, Me., Henry Paston Clark, 1880



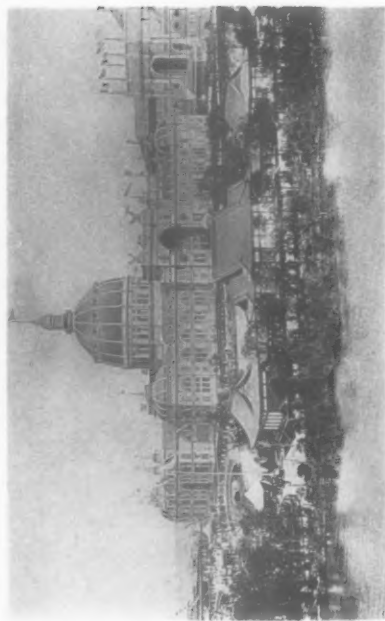
5. Cottage for U. S. Grant, Jr., Asbury Park, N.J., Bassett Jones, 1880



6. Dr. E. H. Williams' Japanese room, Philadelphia



7. H. Victor Newcomb's hall, Elberon, N.J.,
McKim, Mead & White, 1881



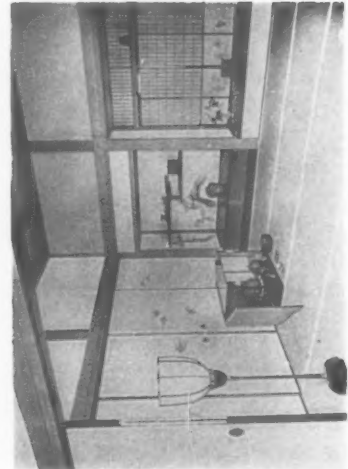
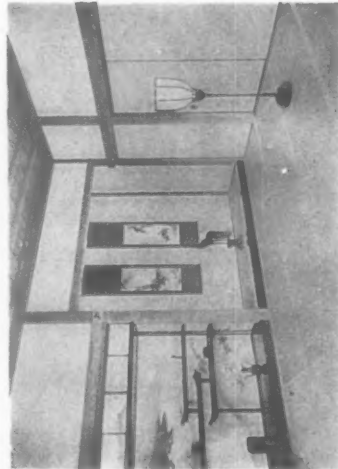
8. U.S. Government Building and Japanese Palace on Wooded
Island, Chicago Columbian Exposition, 1883



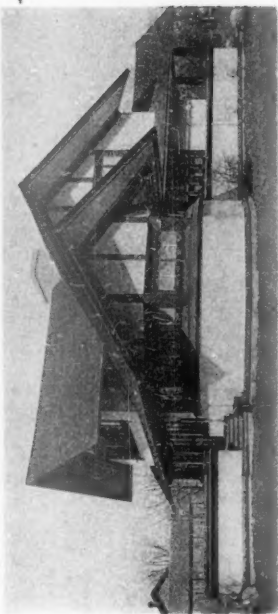
9. The *Hōō-den*, or Phoenix Palace, Chicago
Columbian Exposition, 1883



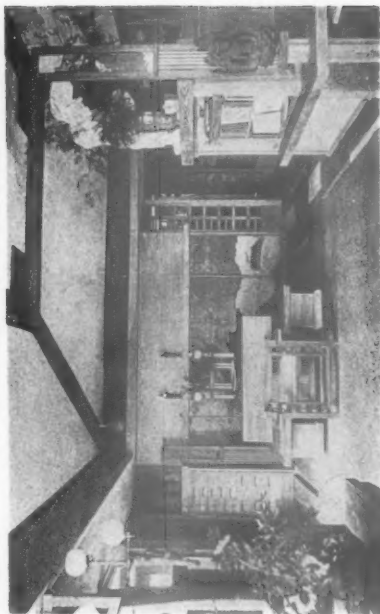
10. Dr. William A. Hammond's Japanese
bedroom, New York, N.Y.



11. Library and tea room in right wing of
Hōō-den, Chicago Columbian Exposition,
1883



12. Warren Hickox house, Kankakee, Ill.,
Frank Lloyd Wright, 1900



13. Living room of Taliesin, Spring Green, Wis.,
Frank Lloyd Wright, 1911



14. Taliesin, Spring Green, Wis.,
Frank Lloyd Wright, 1911

the prince in the castle of Yedo (Tokyo) of the late Tokugawa Period (1615-1867). The cruciform plan contained two good-sized rooms surrounded by corridors on three sides, with study and serving rooms to right and left. The walls of the latter were colorfully painted with a galaxy of minutely decorated fans shown floating on a stream. Stylized phoenix-and-cloud patterns were painted on square panels between the beams of the principal chambers, and freely painted representations of the same subject enhanced the walls of the apartment. The paintings were executed by the professors and students of the Tokyo Art Academy, the design of the building itself being the work of the Government Architect of Japan.¹⁶

Meant to be a permanent gift to the city of Chicago, the Hōō-den stood on its original site in Jackson Park, about six miles south of the Chicago Natural History Museum, for over half a century. In June of 1946 one section burned; another met the same fate in the following October, damaging the third, which was later razed.¹⁷ However, during its fifty-three years of existence, the structure had made some impression upon American architecture.

In 1893, the year of the World's Columbian Exposition, the architect Frank Lloyd Wright left the employ of Adler & Sullivan to practice independently. He had been entrusted with much of the detailing of buildings and some designing during his six-year association with the firm, besides having gained additional experience through free-lance work. Unlike most of his contemporaries, Wright had not been schooled into submission to the Beaux-Arts ideal that a building must be overspread with classic clothing in order to maintain respectability. He had been saved from this by the sane teaching of Louis Sullivan, and had set to work to put the teaching into effect, but in a way very unlike Sullivan's.

It is evident that Wright grasped some of the significance of East Asian architecture at first contact. The Chauncey L. Williams house which he built at River Forest, Illinois, in 1895, suggests Japanese picturesqueness, having a steep roof, an accentuation of horizontal lines in the lower part, and irregular boulders set against the walls purely for decorative effect. This building reminds us of a Japanese country house, and was, perhaps, indebted to one of Hokusai's prints of such a dwelling.¹⁸ The Warren Hickox house in Kankakee, built in 1900, has more visible indebtedness to the Hōō-den (Fig. 12).¹⁹ At first glance one notices the exposed dark-stained wood framing against the off-white plaster, the low, projecting roofs, the stress of horizontals, and the large areas of windows on the left side. Another unusual feature is uniquely Japanese, and yet not borrowed from the Hōō-den: this is the outward projection of the rakings of the single-pitched roof, a type known in Japan as *kirizuma*, which is common to Shinto shrines. Inside, there is an openness of planning which is Far Eastern. Wright repeated these elements in the B. Harley Bradley house, next door to the Hickox residence, and in the second design prepared for the Curtis Publishing Company, which appeared in the June 1901 issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. The small, rambling W. A. Glasner house (1905) at Glencoe, Illinois, was to have been provided with an octagonal tea pavilion, connected to the house proper by a passerelle across a ravine, but it was never built.

No doubt the Hōō-den whetted Frank Lloyd Wright's appetite for further nourishment on Japanese architecture. He journeyed to Japan in 1905 to investigate buildings in their native setting, and returned with ideas and Far Eastern art objects which he incorporated in Taliesin, his own home at Spring Green, Wisconsin, constructed originally in 1911, and rebuilt and added to according to the dictates of disaster, need, or whim up to the present time. It has always been a rambling house with low, spreading roofs, described as wrapped around a small hill, the hipped

16. The descriptions of the interiors have been taken from *ibid.*, pp. 14-34.

17. Letter to the author from Miss Rhoda M. Musfeldt, Public Information Service, Chicago Park District, of April 24, 1952.

18. Wright was introduced to Japanese prints at the

Columbian Exposition of 1893, where examples of the work of Hokusai and Hiroshige were shown. It is reported that he later said, "It was my own stuff." His collection of Japanese prints was begun about 1900. See Frank Lloyd Wright, *An Autobiography*, New York, 1942, pp. 194, 196-197.

19. Fig. 12 is from *Architectural Record*, July 1905, p. 60.

roofs repeating the topography of the countryside, the rough stonework a part of the site brought to the surface (Fig. 14).²⁰ Such conscious fusion of architecture with nature is strictly Eastern. The several parts of the building have served as dwelling, studio workroom, stable, carriage house, assistants' quarters, dairy, etc., and this ambiguity of purpose also is Oriental. Since time immemorial, Chinese and Japanese buildings have been as flexible in their use as in their interior planning.

The Oriental flavor was, and is, most apparent inside Taliesin (Fig. 13).²¹ Japanese screens were built into the walls, and tall, narrow pillar-prints were elevated upon specially built easels that were part of the furnishings. An intimate effect was achieved through the use of low furniture, tinted (as opposed to painted) plaster, bare wood, and open lattices; and night illumination from concealed sources or bizarre fixtures imparted an atmosphere of Shangri-la. Gilded, carved-wood Buddhas and glazed ware lent touches of color. The major alterations and additions to Taliesin were made after the fires of 1914 and 1925, and these renovations were patterned after the original building.

Perhaps our discussion of Taliesin has taken us somewhat afield. We return to Chicago. The famous "airplane" plan—a cruciform with extended arms—used by Wright throughout his later Chicago period, may well have been a concept borrowed from the layout of the Hōō-dō, the Japanese representation of a bird form in architecture. In America it was given a more modern interpretation by relating it to the flying machine, invented, it will be remembered, at the opening of the century. The Isabel Roberts house at River Forest, dating from 1908, is one of the most pleasing examples of the airplane plan.²²

Wright was only one of the group of architects designing bungalows of this type who were known collectively as the Chicago School. Among them was George Grant Elmslie, a Scotsman who came to this country during the 1880's, and who, like Wright, worked first for Joseph Silsbee and later for Adler & Sullivan. Elmslie formed a partnership with William Gray Purcell in 1909 which lasted until the latter went to California in 1920. George Grant Elmslie designed and built the Dr. Harold C. Bradley house at Woods Hole, Massachusetts, in 1911, a long shingled building having for focus a semicircular living room (Fig. 15).²³ The continuous bands of windows, repetition of horizontal lines, and overhanging ends impart a soaring quality that returns our thoughts to the phoenix bird, and to the imported building that first represented this fabled creature in America.

Japanese influence also is strongly present in contemporary Illinois and Michigan dwellings by H. V. Van Holst, who took over Wright's practice when he went abroad in 1909, and by Walter Burley Griffin and Marion Mahoney Griffin.²⁴

The hotbed of the modern Far Eastern type house is, of course, the West Coast. San Francisco followed closely the example of Chicago by holding a world's fair from January to July of the year succeeding the Chicago event. The California Midwinter International Exposition of 1894 repeated several attractions of the Columbian Exposition, such as John Philip Sousa's band and certain foreign exhibits. A number of new structures composed the Japanese Village, some of which still stand in Golden Gate Park. Through a *rō-mon*, or two-storied gate, one entered a perfectly reproduced Japanese garden, with arched bridge, a thatched tea house, theater, *torii*, Shinto shrine, and a residence (Fig. 17).²⁵ The two-storied, four-room *zashiki* was a typical Japanese house, with wooden walls, sliding panels, and rice-paper windowpanes (Fig. 18).²⁶ The

20. Fig. 14 is from *ibid.*, January 1913, p. 54.

21. Fig. 13 is from *ibid.*, October 1915, p. 395.

22. Illustrated in Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *In the Nature of Materials*, New York, 1942, figs. 154-156. The first of Wright's cross-shaped houses was the Joseph W. Husser house at 180 Buena Avenue, Chicago, built in 1899; *ibid.*, figs. 45-46.

23. Fig. 15 is from *Pencil Points*, September 1941, p. 577.

24. All three architects had been associated with Wright earlier.

25. Fig. 17 is from Charles Keeler, *San Francisco and Thereabout*, San Francisco, 1903, facing p. 70.

26. Fig. 18 is from *The Official History of the California Midwinter International Exposition . . .*, San Francisco, 1894, p. 211.

building was complete inside, the floors mat-covered, and there was an authentic *tokonoma* for flower arrangements. Like its predecessors in Philadelphia and Chicago, the Japanese microcosm created a sensation, since it preceded the exotic architecture of the famous San Francisco Chinatown, which grew up after the earthquake of 1906.

A parallel may be drawn between Wright's setting up his independent office in Chicago in 1893 and the establishment of the firm of Greene & Greene in Southern California in 1894—the dates corresponding to the years of the Great Lakes and West Coast fairs respectively, and the architects becoming leaders in the new architecture that adapted the Japanese manner. There was only a difference of fifteen months in the ages of Charles Sumner and Henry Mather Greene, and, as their biographer has pointed out, the brothers have worked together so well that Greene & Greene are, to all intents and purposes, one man.²⁷ As in the case of Frank Lloyd Wright, the background of the Greens had not molded them into Beaux-Arts enthusiasts, although they were trained at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. An appreciation for the honest working of simple materials had been gained by Charles and Henry Greene as youngsters at the Manual Training High School operated by Washington University in St. Louis, one of the earliest schools attempting to make education technical instead of literary. The students worked two hours a day at a craft, at carpentry the first year, at blacksmithing and metalwork the second, and at the making of tools the third. The awareness of good craftsmanship thus gained gave them an appreciation for Japanese technique in building. Unlike Wright, however, the influence was not as immediately apparent in their work.

The Greens' training in architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology fitted them to work for three Boston firms in succession during the two years following their graduation. While visiting their parents in California, they decided to open an office at Pasadena, where first they tried their hand at borrowing from Colonial, "Queen Anne," English, and Spanish Mission, following a precedent brought with them from Massachusetts. Then they hit upon the style that exactly suited their taste and the local needs. This was in 1903 in the design for the Arturo Bandini house, which was to follow the patio scheme of the colonial homes of the client's Spanish ancestors (Fig. 19).²⁸ The Greene brothers' modern version departed from the thick-walled adobe construction of early California architecture. It was conceived as a spreading house of board and batten, with shingled roof and cobblestone foundations and chimneys. Despite the similarity of plan, the Bandini house was in character quite unlike the Spanish colonial, whose box-like rooms and tiny windows were exchanged for an openness derived from Japanese prototypes. In Greene & Greene's most solidly built houses, we find that the structural system remains wood, as in nearly all Far Eastern architecture. The Tichenor house at Long Beach, with its brick, half-timber walls and tile roof, is a typical example (Fig. 16).²⁹

Both of these houses by Greene & Greene were used to illustrate an article on the architects by Arthur C. David, written in 1906. The author points out: "We are aware that the American bungalow derives more of its characteristics from Japanese models than it does from buildings erected in tropical countries. . . . It has . . . become an extremely popular type in . . . California, and it is there that bungalows are being built more and better than anywhere else in the country. . . . Most Californians are people of substantial but moderate means, and of informal tastes, who want an attractive but inexpensive residence. . . . Its whole purpose is to minimize the distinction which exists between being inside and outside of four walls. The rooms of such a building should consequently be spacious, they should not be shut off any more than is necessary from one another, and they should be finished in wood simply designed and stained so as to keep so far as possible

27. Jean Murray Bangs, "Greene and Greene," *Architectural Forum*, October 1948, pp. 80-89.

28. Fig. 19 is from *House Beautiful*, June 1908, p. 61.

29. Fig. 16 is from Aymar Embury II, *One Hundred Country Houses, Modern American Examples*, New York, 1909, p. 217.

its natural texture and hue." Mr. David goes on to say that the house "should not be made to count very strongly in the landscape." It should blend into the background. "Its most prominent architectural member will inevitably be its roof, because it will combine a considerable area with an inconsiderable height, and such a roof must have sharp projections and cast heavy shadows, not only for the practical purpose of shading windows and piazzas, but for the aesthetic one of making sharp contrasts in line and shade to compensate for the moderation of color."³⁰ These concepts of sinking the architecture into its background and allowing the roof to dominate the design are diametrically opposed to the Classic ideal, and yet are not too foreign from the Romantic, as voiced in America by Andrew Jackson Downing during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, drawing inspiration from the contemporary English interest in mediaeval architecture.³¹ The new viewpoint in architecture differed from that of nineteenth century Romanticism primarily in its adoption of the free-flowing interior and its omission of artificial finishes.

The California House developed by Greene & Greene has an easy, spontaneous look about it (Fig. 20).³² The form may be essentially square and compact, and, although large, is brought down in scale through the treatment of its sheltering roof and the addition of small, projecting pavilions. The interlacing of beams and rafters is made much of in the design, rather than being masked by moldings. Stone piers and chimneys have very wide footings; and their soft transitional contours give the impression that they grow tree-like out of the ground.

As the architecture of the Chicago School was not the monopoly of Frank Lloyd Wright, so the early manifestation of the California House was not the sole creation of Charles and Henry Greene. We show a single example, one of a pair of bungalows built on adjacent lots by Albert R. Walker and John Terrell Vawter, architects practicing in Los Angeles before the outbreak of the First World War (Fig. 21).³³ The hillside setting contributes much to these little wooden houses that are so typically Japanese in their massing. There is refinement in the shape of the barge-boards, and, as in Wright's Hickox house, the gables are thrust outward at the apex.

One would have a very difficult assignment in proving that the bungalows herein discussed were definitely derived from the Japanese buildings built at the fairs—increasingly difficult as time went on, owing to the wide variety of sources that came to be at the disposal of architects. It is a known fact that each of the Japanese exhibits stimulated interest in artistic and other circles; and, up to the mid-1880's at least, there was practically no source of information on Far East architecture available other than the buildings at the Philadelphia fair. Through Japanese architecture the American architect recognized the means of liberation in his work, a way of building dictated by the materials and tools of building, rather than by dead forms and formulae. In this respect, he acquired a timeless, universal manner of building, which, in a sense, was not strictly Japanese, although suggested by the architecture of those islands. In view of this contribution to the American way of living, we should be grateful for the participation of Japan in the expositions of the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

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30. Arthur C. David, "An Architect of Bungalows in California," *Architectural Record*, October 1906, pp. 309-310.

31. cf. Vincent J. Scully, Jr., "Romantic Rationalism and the Expression of Structure in Wood: Downing, Wheeler,

Gardner, and the 'Stick Style,' 1840-1876," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXV, 1953, pp. 121ff.

32. Fig. 20 is from *Western Architect*, April 1909.

33. Fig. 21 is from *The Architect*, December 1915, p. 259.



15. Dr. Harold C. Bradley house, Woods Hole, Mass.,
George Grant Elmslie, 1911



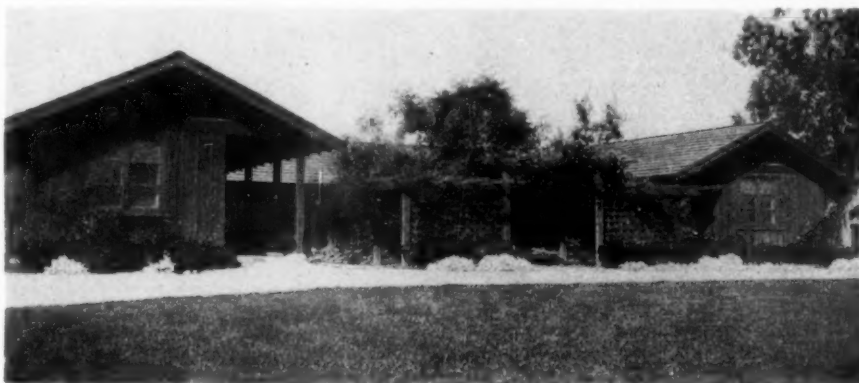
16. Tichenor house, Long Beach, Cal.,
Greene & Greene



17. The Japanese Village, California Midwinter International Exposition,
San Francisco, 1894



18. A balcony scene in the Japanese Village, California
Midwinter Exposition, San Francisco, 1894



19. Arturo Bandini's
bungalow, Pasadena,
Cal., Greene & Greene



20. Bungalow in Pasadena, Cal., Greene & Greene



21. Bungalow in Southern California, Walker & Vawter



1. John Smibert, *Henry Collins*. Collection of Countess László Széchenyi, Newport.
(Courtesy of Frick Art Reference Library)



2. Robert Feké, *Henry Collins* (formerly called *Gershom Flagg III*). Collection of
Countess László Széchenyi, Newport. (Courtesy of Frick Art Reference Library)

NOTES

FEKE AND SMIBERT: A NOTE ON TWO PORTRAITS

W. PHOENIX BELKNAP

Among the most interesting examples of Robert Feke's paintings are the three Flagg family portraits owned by the Countess László Széchenyi, which were shown in 1946 in the exhibition of this Colonial painter's work at the Whitney Museum of American Art, the Heckscher Museum, and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. These portraits have been inherited in the Flagg family, the descendants of Ebenezer Flagg of Newport and his wife, Mary Ward. The latter was the daughter of Governor Richard Ward of Rhode Island and the niece of his half-brother, Henry Collins (1699-1765) of Newport, a distinguished merchant and a patron of Feke. The subsequent history of the Flagg portraits is well known, the pictures having passed by inheritance to members of the Flagg family living in Charleston, South Carolina, thence to the late William J. Flagg of New York, who bequeathed them, with some other family portraits having the same history, to his niece, Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt, the mother of the present owner.

The three family portraits in the Feke group were apparently painted to hang together. They represent two men and a woman, and the male portraits face each other, the sitters being dressed in coats of the same color with identical scarlet linings.

Two of the portraits have always been known to represent Ebenezer Flagg (1710-1762), and his wife, Mary Ward (1713-1781). The third, the other male portrait (Fig. 2), was at one time supposed to represent Gershom Flagg of Boston (1705-1771), the son of John Flagg and the brother of Ebenezer Flagg. This is confirmed by the remarks of Mr. Ernest Flagg in his account of the Flagg family, in which he states that the portraits which Dr. Henry Collins Flagg took with him to the South included "Ebenezer Flagg, his father; Gershom Flagg, his uncle; Mary Flagg, his mother. . . ." There is also a note on the mount at the Frick Art Reference Library that the dates given on the frame of the portrait (presumably at the time it was photographed) date the subject 1705-1771. However, it seems quite certain that this identification was less firmly established than that of the portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Ebenezer Flagg, and it may have represented a conjectural effort to identify a picture believed to represent a collateral ancestor.

When Dr. Henry Wilder Foote was preparing his valuable monograph on the painter and had the opportunity to examine these portraits, he was confronted with the obvious fact that this third portrait did not represent the same individual as the bust portrait of Gershom Flagg, IV, so-called (1705-1771). This latter portrait, together with that of his wife, were inherited in the Wilder and Foote families, direct de-

scendants of the subjects, and with a continuous tradition as to their identity. Dr. Foote was therefore forced to seek another identification for the three-quarter-length portrait. It was logical to assume that the subject represented a family connection of Ebenezer Flagg, and he concluded that the picture represented Gershom Flagg, III, so-called, b. 1702, the son of Gershom Flagg of Woburn, and first cousin of Ebenezer Flagg of Newport. Dr. Foote permits me to say that he inferred that Gershom Flagg, III, removed to Newport from the fact that his son, Colonel Josiah Flagg, was an officer in the Rhode Island Militia at a later date. This identification was generally accepted by the owner and others, and the portrait has since been known as *Gershom Flagg, III*.

Published genealogical data on the Flagg family have not given very full information in regard to Gershom Flagg, III, but a recent investigation of the Woburn records and the Middlesex County court records makes it plain that the portrait is incorrectly identified. As this is not a genealogy, the facts are given as briefly as possible. Gershom Flagg, III, whom for convenience I will call Gershom Flagg, Jr., as his contemporaries did, was born in Woburn, Massachusetts, January 25, 1702, and died there May 14, 1753. He married first Martha Johnson, the daughter of Josiah Johnson and Martha Whitmore, a descendant of the famous Captain Edward Johnson of Woburn, the author of *The Wonder-Working Providence*. She died at Woburn February 5, 1738. He married second Betty Tidd, the daughter of Joseph and Mary Tidd, the marriage intentions being recorded at Lexington April 24, 1741. His second wife was born at Lexington in 1714 and died in 1764. He had six children by his first wife, all born at Woburn at intervals between 1728 and 1737, and one child by his second wife born also at Woburn in 1745. He was a party to deeds in Middlesex County in the years 1733, 1734, 1736, 1739, 1743, 1751, 1752, and 1753. In addition to conducting transactions in land, Gershom Flagg, Jr., was a tanner, as was his father and grandfather, both named Gershom Flagg. He was appointed guardian for his children under the will of their grandfather, Josiah Johnson. He predeceased his father, and the reference in the latter's will to his deceased son and his grandchildren make the identification quite positive. He is invariably referred to as of Woburn, and it is clear that he was never a resident elsewhere.

We are, therefore, forced to reconsider the identification of the Feke portrait (Fig. 2) recently taken to represent Gershom Flagg, III (Gershom Flagg, Jr., of Woburn), and it is a reasonable conjecture that it represents someone closely connected with the family of Ebenezer Flagg, his wife, Mary Ward, or Henry Collins himself. Mary Ward had several brothers, of whom the two eldest were Thomas, b. 1711, and Samuel, b. 1725. Samuel Ward was plainly too young

to be the subject of the portrait, and there seems no reason why a portrait of Thomas Ward should have descended to his sister's children. In addition, for whatever it is worth, there is no strong resemblance between the man of the portrait and Mrs. Ebenezer Flagg.

However, one of the other Flagg family portraits, which has descended to the Countess Széchenyi, represents Henry Collins himself and is attributed to Smibert (Fig. 1). It is thoroughly identified by an envelope addressed "To M^r. Henry Collins Merch.—Newport" which is lying on a table in the picture. Henry Collins was not only related to Mrs. Ebenezer Flagg but was also in partnership as a merchant and ship-owner with her husband. The double connection by blood and friendship created a close intimacy, and Henry Collins, who was unmarried, was living with his niece at the time of his death. It is worthwhile to consider whether the portrait in question may not represent him.

In comparing two portraits, one attributed to Smibert and the other by Feke, it is necessary to bear in mind that Smibert's particular technique of drawing, in which the line and modeling are nervous and irregular, tends, if anything, to give an appearance of age to his sitters; whereas Feke had exactly the opposite tendency, using a bland line and modeling which makes it very difficult for us to judge the age of his sitters. With rare exceptions, all of his male portraits could be of men between thirty and forty-two, and, in this connection, it is perhaps worthwhile to make a comparison with a portrait such as that of Richard Saltonstall (b. 1703). We can in most cases only judge the age of his models by their figures and their pose.

If these considerations are borne in mind, I believe a considerable likeness will be found between the Feke portrait, until now known as Gershom Flagg, III, and the portrait of Henry Collins attributed to Smibert. If they are indeed of the same person, we have a most interesting comparison between two portraits of the same sitter by the two leading New England painters of the day.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

[1899-1949]

ART THEORY AND ARTISTIC PRACTICE IN THE EARLY SEICENTO: SOME CLARIFICATIONS

DENIS MAHON

I am indebted to Professor Rensselaer W. Lee for a generous, erudite, and friendly review in the September 1951 issue of the *ART BULLETIN* (xxxiii, pp. 204-212) of my book *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory*,¹ and I feel concerned lest it might appear

something like ingratitude to a distinguished scholar, from whose researches I have learned much, if I continue the debate by attempting some clarifications—invariably sketchy for spatial reasons—of my point of view on several questions which he raises in it. Nevertheless the fact remains that those questions, and the answers which are given to them, are of absolutely fundamental significance for our understanding of what was occurring artistically in the Italy of around 1600. It was indeed because of their extreme importance that Professor Lee felt justified in turning two-thirds of his review into what was, in effect, a moderately expressed though lengthy exposition of the opposite view to that which I had put forward in certain parts of my book.

It will be obvious that our respective interpretations of both the written sources and the paintings differ radically. I hope Professor Lee will allow me to plead that if I say him nay with less urbanity and a cruder downrightness than he employed in discussing my book, it is because I am faced with the more formidable task of the two. His thesis is one which, being familiar, finds a ready response; in my case, I have to put the issues with less moderation (I am afraid he would describe it as overemphasis) in order to stimulate those readers of the *ART BULLETIN* who may be seriously interested in these questions to re-examine premises which they may have taken for granted. And yet, I must assure him, to me the traditional interpretations—rendered the more attractive by their deceptive simplicity—are often serious cases of false emphasis, the misleading character of which has merely been obscured by constant use. There is a very real need for more general awareness of the fact that Seicento painting is full of unsolved problems of every sort and kind, among which various aspects of the relationship between brush and pen are not the least important. The neat and comprehensive solutions which have been handed down from the past, and which were accepted as adequate before we began to grasp the rich diversity of the Seicento scene, have now become an encouragement to rest on our somewhat puny laurels. The present contribution is prompted by the belief that realization of our shortcomings and limitations in this respect is a condition of further progress in understanding what really matters—the works of art as such.

I

In the section of my book dealing with the earliest days of the Accademia di San Luca I brought forward evidence which tended to show that the Academy had, as a body, no pronounced theoretical views of any kind. Professor Lee (*op.cit.*, p. 207) does not disagree with this conclusion, but wonders if my misgivings about the employment of the expression "academic" to describe strictly contemporary criticisms of Caravaggio are not too subtle. This mild reservation sums up the differences between our points of view, since my objection to the over-all use of the term in this

1. Published in London in 1947 (Studies of the Warburg Institute, No. 16).

context is precisely that it is apt to prove a simplification which is misleading in quite a positive way—an opinion in which, as it happens, Professor Lee's remarks do much to confirm me. "There was," he says, "in the sixteenth and in the early and middle seventeenth centuries in Italy a view of art which was the common view of learned and cultivated men whether artists or not, which was at length piously adopted by the Academies, and which has conveniently and reasonably been labeled as academic" (p. 207). Apparently the inference intended to be drawn is that to be cultivated must have been largely synonymous (insofar as art-theory was concerned) with acceptance of that general attitude which Professor Lee finds it convenient to label "academic," since the conclusion which he reaches with the help of this broad usage is that "The academic point of view was . . . an accepted and even prevailing point of view among critics and amateurs of art at the beginning of the century just as it was Bellori's at the middle and end." But it is difficult to see how this more or less specific deduction can be reconciled with the known facts of the eager patronage (necessarily uninfluenced by "academic" prejudices) which was extended to Caravaggio by leading representatives of just that very category to which Professor Lee wishes to attribute "academic" views of Bellorian type.² It is no doubt arguable that if the learned and cultivated amateur *in general* had been really interested, around 1600, in reasoned and explicit art-theory, this latter might very well have partaken of the character suggested by Professor Lee; however, one of the most striking features of the brief but distinct moment in art-history with which we are concerned was the absence of general interest in systematic art-theory of any kind whatsoever, contrasted with the first substantial flowering of the type of practical dilettante who, though cultivated, judged directly with his eyes—and without overmuch deference to what was to be found in the libraries.³

Professor Lee introduces Zuccaro into this problem, but I find it difficult to understand why. Zuccaro's theoretical publications had no perceptible influence

among painters just because of their exceptional lack of relationship to the practical business of painting; they are concerned not with that setting-out of a clearly defined critical attitude (in the sense of applied value judgments) which was so characteristic and interesting a feature of Bellori, but with establishing the claim of artistic activity to eminent status within a system of universal philosophy. Since Zuccaro was writing as a philosopher and not as a critic, we should beware of deducing solely from his philosophical lucubrations any particular critical attitude in the practical sense—let alone anything in the nature of a critical "doctrine" of Bellorian comprehensiveness. But, while we have no evidence that the latter ever existed (and we may hazard a guess that if Zuccaro had really been interested in critical matters proper he would have gone into print about them), we can however find in his writings some rare traces of applied criticism. For example, it is clear enough that he was radically opposed to the more exuberant manifestations of Venetian Mannerism, and I personally am inclined to believe that he would have cited the liberties which Tintoretto took with "nature" as one of the reasons for his violent attack on the *frenesia* of the latter's mature works. Obviously, when Zuccaro refers to lack of the imitation of nature as one of the reasons for the decay of the art of painting, the remark is not being made in a Caravaggesque context; nevertheless it is difficult to reconcile with that "strongly antipathetic" attitude toward naturalism *per se*⁴ which Professor Lee wishes to attribute to him, but for which I can find no real support in Zuccaro's writings.⁵

This is not of course to deny that Zuccaro can have criticized Caravaggio, but to suggest that the grounds and the gist of such criticisms may have been somewhat different from those which we are necessarily led to assume as a result of the convenient device of equating him (by means of an all too broad "academic" classification) with so totally different a figure as Bellori. My own impression is that divergence in working methods was primarily responsible for such reserved coolness as may lie behind the reactions of a

2. Some examples will be found in my article, "On Some Aspects of Caravaggio and His Times," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XII (N.S.), No. 2, October 1953 (in press), in which the position of Caravaggio in relation to art-theory is more fully discussed.

3. I feel a special obligation to stress my conviction that the role of art-theory in relation to both criticism and artistic practice was not of paramount importance in the time of Caravaggio and Annibale Carracci because, by the very fact of drawing attention to Agucchi as a forerunner of Bellori, I may have inadvertently led my readers to jump to the opposite conclusion. I can, however, point out in self-defense that in my book (pp. 67ff.) I went to special pains to offset against Agucchi the figure of Cardinal Jacopo Serra, the patron of the young Guercino, who seems to have belonged to that class of broad-minded amateur who, in spite of being learned and cultivated, set little store by theoretical considerations.

4. The term "naturalism" is of course used here as a purely abstract theoretical concept.

5. Incidentally, it must always be borne in mind when dis-

cussing this question that we are by no means entitled to include among Zuccaro's writings those five letters purporting to be his which were published by Ticozzi in 1822; upon objective examination it becomes clear (as Professor Longhi was the first to point out) that they are riddled with fundamental historical contradictions and inconsistencies which are inexplicable except on the basis that they are falsifications. Professor Lee does not, of course, treat them as a source, for which status they are indeed quite unworthy. This would leave Baglione's report of Zuccaro's remarks in the Cappella Contarelli as the sole indication we have of his views on Caravaggio. A good deal has been written elsewhere as to the proper interpretation of this. Perhaps I may add a single observation here on the question of whether the phrase "nella tavola . . . all'Apostolato" refers to a picture (whether actual or hypothetical) of Giorgione or to that of Caravaggio. According to the verbal opinion of a very eminent Italian literary historian specially qualified in such matters, the view that it could refer to the picture of Caravaggio can by no means be ruled out as absurd; the phrase, admittedly very awkward, could be read as if in parenthesis.

painter of the type of Zuccaro. Though Caravaggio's practice of working in oil color direct from the natural model was welcomed by many of the younger painters, it can very well have seemed a retrogressive neo-Venetian innovation to those more elderly artists who were firmly set in the ways of the Roman-Florentine creed. Zuccaro's exhortation in his *Lamento della Pittura*:

Faccia ciascun gli suoi disegni in carte,
Che meglio poi riesce la Pittura,
E misuri hor'il tutto, hora la parte. . . .

suggests that Caravaggio's notorious habit of dispensing with preliminary drawings can hardly have recommended itself to that oracular master. Zuccaro, then, could very well have endorsed criticisms of Caravaggio along such lines, and followed this up by pointing out various quasi-technical weaknesses which were evidently attributable to his methods and to the lack of a special kind of training which they seemed to embody.⁶ Nothing is more likely, either, than that Zuccaro was jealous of Caravaggio's success, and that he felt that the young artist was no ornament to the profession on what may be described as social grounds. The question is, however, whether the characterization as "academic" of a critical attitude thus variously compounded is not an oversimplification which is likely to lead one astray—having regard to the fact that it has nothing to do with the Accademia di San Luca as an institution, and little enough to do with that classic-idealist theory of art which, being later adopted by Academies, came to be called academic, but which in 1600 had not even received its first real formulation—to say nothing of a concrete critical application.

II

On the question of the interpretation of the Carracci, both now and in the past (a matter to which Professor Lee devoted a good deal more than half his review), there is clearly a very considerable difference of opinion between us. I shall attempt to clarify my position on this subject, but I must confess that I feel considerably hampered by the impression that the real gist and purport of the argument seems somehow to have eluded Professor Lee. This is nowhere more apparent than in his approach to my investigation of the interpretative use of the expression "eclectic," from its inventor Winckelmann onward. The object of this section of my book was to summarize *the actual piecemeal process of construction*, step by step, of what came to be accepted in the later nineteenth century as the routine interpretation of the Carracci. It was of course an essential part of my contention that the component bricks were of different shapes and colors, and came from very different kilns. The interpretation, I at-

tempted to show, was itself sufficiently "composite" in its origins, and owed its vitality to a series of fortuitous circumstances. I wished to suggest that, since its construction was of such a markedly artificial and haphazard character, certain conclusions should be drawn as to its claims to objectivity, which (I should have thought) were further impaired by the notorious fact that during the period when it was most widely accepted—the nineteenth century—no critic was prepared to look at all attentively at the paintings which it purported to interpret. In commenting upon this section of my book Professor Lee provides us (*op.cit.*, pp. 208-210) with a lengthy and interesting elaboration of a subject which, for brevity's sake, I had treated as marginal to my main thesis: the characterization of the individual positions of Winckelmann, Fuseli, and Schlegel. His conclusions, which I have no hesitation in endorsing in their main essentials, bring grist to my mill, since they heavily underscore the truth (of cardinal importance for my thesis) that the historical context of a critico-interpretative term is apt to undergo notable changes as time passes, with consequent repercussions on its connotation. I must admit to baffled surprise, therefore, to find that the pretext for this useful excursus is my own quite imaginary dissent from its findings.

Professor Lee seems to have been laboring under the erroneous impression that I did not realize that Winckelmann admired the Carracci (subject to certain reservations upon which we are both agreed), and makes considerable play with my use of the term "derogatory," which he supposes I intended to apply to Winckelmann's critical evaluation as such. Instead, it applied to the abstract expressions "eclectic" and "the imitators" which Winckelmann, who was responsible for them in the first place, introduced into the situation *primarily* as historical rather than qualitative concepts, but which were so striking that they were bound to survive out of their original context, and to be read in due course in a more independently qualitative, and consequently derogatory, sense.⁷ The confusion over Winckelmann unfortunately extends to Fuseli and Schlegel. How Professor Lee contrived to get the notion that I regard Fuseli as a sort of slavish echo of Winckelmann entirely escapes me; I simply pointed out the fact that the later writer took over the vital term "eclectic" from the earlier one. That he did so "out of context" admirably illustrates the unfavorable potentialities of Winckelmann's terminological invention. I need hardly say that this last observation applies also to Schlegel, who obviously belongs to a different world than that of Winckelmann. As I specifically referred, in the context of my remarks on Schlegel, to Winckelmann's portrait of the Carracci as *potentially* (sic) unfavorable, and it is clear enough

6. Further remarks on Caravaggio's methods will be found in my article cited in note 2 above. Zuccaro is, of course, hardly likely to have taken a sympathetic view of his breaches of representational decorum.

7. No doubt if, when first introducing the expression "derogatory," I had placed the adverb "potentially" in front

of it, my telescoping of the argument would have been abundantly obvious. However, one is surely entitled sometimes to rely for avoidance of misunderstandings on the general sense (e.g., cf. my characterization of Winckelmann's portrait of the Carracci when discussing Schlegel).

that I regard the attitude of Schlegel himself as *actually* unfavorable, the grounds for Professor Lee's misunderstanding of my views on the relationship of these two appear to me to be a little unsubstantial.⁸

III

We may now pass from this digression to the main core of the discussion, which comes under the broad heading of whether or not it is accurate or significant to describe the Carracci as eclectics. One aspect of this problem, the question of whether or not the Carracci did as a matter of historical fact profess some theoretical doctrine which can reasonably be termed eclectic, concerns the interpretation of the written sources. I have recently pursued this investigation further in a separate study published elsewhere,⁹ in which my reasons for adopting quite different readings from those of Professor Lee can be found set out in sufficient detail. Here it must suffice to say that I do not for one moment accept his contention (p. 211) that the key passage in Faberio (our only genuinely contemporary source in this matter) is to be interpreted in the sense of a noting of "an eclectic character" in Carraccesque painting or of reflecting Faberio's personal view that the (supposed) doctrine was made manifest in the works of art; on the contrary, it can be shown that, far from being an independent ex-cogitation on the part of Faberio, this oratorical effusion was no more than a clever literary adaptation of material culled from another publication. Nor can I accept the assumptions behind Professor Lee's reference to "the eclectic doctrine of late sixteenth century theorists," a phrase which must inevitably convey the impression that writers like Lomazzo and Armenini seriously advocated some kind of fully fledged and elaborately thought-out system of eclecticism; indeed, Professor Lee describes these two (p. 211) as having "counseled the method of eclecticism as part of a program for the improvement of the art of painting," adding that the Carracci "inherited this view at very close range." For my part, I am quite unable to recognize under this impressive guise the essentially analytical approach of that pronounced individualist Lomazzo (something of a perplexed romantic, and far removed from a confident synthetist!) and the utilitarian smoothing of the path for young novices of that well-intentioned but disappointed ex-student Armenini—hardly a potential mentor for a real master of the stature of Annibale Carracci.

8. Professor Lee (*op.cit.*, p. 210) attributes to me the view that Schlegel consolidated an unfavorable estimate of the Carracci begun by Winckelmann. This is altogether too rough and ready. It seems to me that Professor Lee might have gone so far as to assume my recognition of the difference between neo-classicism and romanticism; he might then have realized that the argument was (so to speak) that the inert ammunition was manufactured and placed ready to hand by Winckelmann, and that Schlegel found it, primed it, and fired it.

9. Denis Mahon, "Eclecticism and the Carracci: Further Reflections on the Validity of a Label," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVI, 1953 (in press).

10. On the subject of the *postille* I must refer the reader

As a matter of fact, however, we do actually possess, in the marginal notes to Vasari, some evidence as to the views on art which were current in the Carracci studio at Bologna. Systematic examination of these *postille* reveals that though a striking opportunity presented itself for a declaration of eclectic faith, this was utterly ignored, and no trace of any such theory is in fact apparent; on the other hand, the Carracci figure as vigorous partisans of the naturalistic *colore* of the North as against the idealistic *disegno* of Rome and Tuscany.¹⁰ The latter controversy, which represented a fundamental challenge to the "monolithic" Vasarian view of the nature of art, developed into the major theoretical issue of the late Cinquecento, and the ensuing deep schism caused much bewilderment and uncertainty.

The disturbing discovery, faithfully mirrored by the non-committal attitude on the subject of a writer like Lomazzo, that perfections in art were varied and even contradictory does much to explain the later popularity of the view (first ventilated by two laymen, Agucchi and Mancini, early in the Seicento) that the chasm—of which everyone interested in painting was acutely conscious—had been bridged and that a balanced combination of the best in the two principal divergent tendencies had been successfully achieved. However, in the judgment of Professor Lee (pp. 211-212) Agucchi showed himself "highly conscious of the eclectic character of the painting of his friend, Annibale Carracci," and a similar interpretation is held to apply to Mancini; eclecticism, then, according to this definition, is associable with the concept of balance. Nevertheless Professor Lee expresses the opinion earlier (p. 211) that Domenichino, in criticizing the famous passage in Lomazzo relating to the ideal picture of Adam and Eve, "is not objecting to eclecticism as such at all," but is saying "that Lomazzo's eclectic prescription makes color equally important with line¹¹ and that to do this is to err in first principles." But if Professor Lee wishes to use the term "eclectic" in connection with Agucchi and Mancini—both praising Annibale Carracci and characterizing him as having achieved a balance between *colore* and *disegno*—he can hardly deny it to his own definition of what Domenichino dislikes in Lomazzo. Inconsistencies of this kind can be expected to arise as a consequence of the indiscriminate transfer back into the Seicento of a concept only systematized in the last century.¹² As for Domenichino's observation, I see no reason why the straightforward

to my article cited in the previous footnote. The same applies to Lomazzo (whose attitude has, *mutatis mutandis*, something in common with that of Fuseli, as summarized unexceptionably by Professor Lee), and to Armenini (whose pedagogic intentions necessarily involve telling the young students to whom he addresses himself that they have much to learn from their elders and predecessors).

11. Professor Lee uses "line" as the equivalent of "disegno."

12. The proper and balanced interpretation of the *strictly* Seicento critique (qualitative and historical) of the Carracci has been much impeded by the habit, which was universal until quite recently, of relating any isolated fragment of Seicento text on the subject to the theoretical system which

interpretation should not be the correct one. From what Domenichino remembered¹³ of the Adam and Eve passage (described by Professor Lee as an "eclectic prescription") he assumed Lomazzo to be literally proposing a balanced synthesis of *disegno* and *colore*.¹⁴ He objects to such an idea of equilibrium as erroneous in principle, and it is evident from the preceding remarks that he would in fact have given *disegno* the primacy, just as the Carracci of the marginal notes would have given it to *colore*. But in the background is the understanding that an even balance of incompatible elements is unfeasible and indeed contradictory, and it would be doing the artist's intelligence less than justice to suggest that he was unaware that the passage in Lomazzo was an absurdity—given, of course, that it was read erroneously, that is, in a strictly literal rather than a metaphorical sense.¹⁵

IV

It would appear to the present writer that the nineteenth century conception of Carraccesque eclecticism is the demonstrable product of the gradual confluence over an extremely long period of quite a number of originally distinct streams in art literature. This point of view has already been briefly mentioned in connection with Winckelmann, who contributed one momentous element, the term "eclectic," at a comparatively late stage (1763). Among the more venerable component factors of leading importance is the *disegno-colore* controversy, which we have just been discussing and which of course precedes the arrival of the Carracci on the scene. Another contributory element of equal antiquity is that conventional formula of praise, decidedly literary and artificial, which I may call "the eulogistic cliché." I drew attention in my book (e.g.,

cf. pp. 205f.) to the fact that to represent an artist as embodying the varied excellences which had become associable with the names of distinguished predecessors was a routine method of bestowing praise on him in print, from the Cinquecento onward (even down to the eighteenth century); it has figured on innumerable and diverse occasions, of which I noted but a few typical examples out of very many.¹⁶ Its repeated application to all and sundry (the range in the Cinquecento ran from Titian to Figino) made it probable that painters of the then acknowledged eminence of the Carracci would come in for a substantial dose of it.¹⁷ In such circumstances there seems to be little justification for treating the mere appearance of this formula, in one or other of its varied guises, as a sort of unimpugnable certificate of eclecticism made out in the name of the painter to whom it happens to be applied. Nevertheless, this is the role for which Professor Lee seems to have cast a phrase of Dufresnoy—in the background of which, however, both our factors may in my opinion be traced.

Toward the end of his poem Dufresnoy gives us a short account of the particular excellences of the four great High Renaissance masters;¹⁸ his reference to *one single* modern artist, Annibale Carracci, then follows in the following terms: "Quos sedulus Annibal omnes / in propriam mentem, atque modum mira arte coëgit."¹⁹ If one wishes to treat this statement as something more than a neat *façon de parler*—as Professor Lee apparently desires to do²⁰—it may be observed (1) that Dufresnoy unquestionably regards Annibale as an outstanding painter²¹ and the greatest of the moderns, and (2) that Dufresnoy says clearly that what Annibale had gleaned he transformed into his individual conception and style with admirable

had come to be regarded without question as that of the Carracci; the fact that this "system" as such was substantially the creation of the nineteenth century, often misunderstanding the original sources, was overlooked. The temptation to argue back from the relatively recently constructed "system" to the Seicento texts proved very great; but this method did not exactly facilitate discussion, as it assumed the truth of the matter which was in fact in dispute. Unfortunately Professor Lee's argument is by no means free of this trait. For example, when he says (p. 211) that "the eclectic character" of the works of the Carracci "was generally recognized from the beginning of the seventeenth century," he is surely begging the question on no small scale—since the subject under discussion is precisely *what* it was that was "recognized" in the early days, long before the term "eclectic" had been introduced or the concept of a system had been elaborated.

13. That Domenichino was writing from memory is perfectly clear from the context.

14. The repeated reading out of context of this passage in Lomazzo must be at the bottom of the mistaken dubbing of the latter as "an eclectic theorist." From Domenichino down to Professor Lee, Professor Anthony Blunt (to whose book Professor Lee refers), and, as I must readily admit, myself, it has been frequently taken for granted that it was the expression of a doctrine, and was accordingly to be regarded as in the nature of a receipt or prescription (as Professor Lee has it) or a precept (as I rather incautiously put it in my book); the fact is, however, that such a view entirely misconstrues the whole standpoint of the author, who is con-

cerned here, as elsewhere, with classification rather than exhortation.

15. Scannelli's attitude is in essence very similar to this (cf. my article cited in note 9 above).

16. Two of these happened to concern Raphael and Poussin, and were presumably responsible for Professor Lee's apparent misunderstanding of my argument (*op.cit.*, beginning of p. 211). I simply recorded the fact that formulae of this type had been applied to (among others) Raphael and Poussin, and invited the reader to draw conclusions about the nature of the cliché.

17. The examples of its use in connection with artists other than the Carracci are extremely numerous, but we may add for good measure a single Seicento example out of many—Scannelli's invocation of the Carracci themselves, Raphael, and Correggio in connection with Reni; the fact that this should be read as a florid compliment is, one would have thought, sufficiently evident even without taking into consideration that it figures in a work of a writer who dissented vigorously from the supposed eclectic content of the putative precepts of Lomazzo and Pino.

18. To these he adds Giulio Romano, apparently as a consequence of his own sufficiently evident, though not exaggerated, "classical" predilections.

19. *De arte graphica*, lines 535-536.

20. Lee, *op.cit.*, p. 212.

21. Any reservations which Dufresnoy may have had in praising Annibale would naturally have taken the form that his classicism was insufficiently pure (in anticipation of Winckelmann).

art.²² Though Professor Lee cites the passage in question as evidence that Dufresnoy noted an eclectic character in Annibale, neither of the above two opinions of his witness accords at all happily with Professor Lee's own definition (deriving from the nineteenth rather than the seventeenth century) of what he himself means by eclecticism *in terms of the works of art*—when so employed, it connotes for him the withholding, not the bestowing, of praise, and the reason given is lack of assimilation. The fact is, of course, that the term is used throughout in two radically different senses, one for the textual sources and one for the paintings; whatever Dufresnoy may have perceived in the works of art,²³ it was by definition not eclecticism of the variety propounded by Professor Lee. Reverting to the purely textual question, Professor Lee would not argue that when Vasari (in placing Raphael in historical sequence in the *Proemio* to Part III of his *Vite*) uses a closely similar form,²⁴ it can be held to prove that Raphael can usefully be described as an eclectic.²⁵ What holds good in one case, however, holds equally good in the other, if logic is not to be expelled from the argument and extraneous issues brought into it;²⁶ Dufresnoy's comment is not susceptible of proving any more or less *per se* than that of Vasari.

V

There is yet another element of great antiquity which, in the view of the writer, came to make a vital contribution toward that conception of eclecticism which finally evolved into the elaborate structure of the nineteenth century "system" with its conviction of a Carraccesque doctrine. Obviously, both the hypothesis of the mending of the *disegno-colore* schism and the application of the eulogistic cliché had certain affinities in their form to that of classic-idealist theory, in which principles of selection and unification played an important part. One of the most graphic examples of the compendious bringing-together of all these trends is provided by Bellori in a passage which Professor Lee quotes, but which illustrates the point so pithily that it is worth repeating: "Il suo proprio stile," Bellori says of Annibale, "fù l'unire insieme l'idea, e la natura, accumulando in se stesso le più degne virtù de' maestri passati." The classic-idealist ingredient proved to be

extraordinarily robust, thanks to qualities of simple succinctness and *prima facie* reasonableness. Indeed, its staying power was derived more from the valuable asset of innate cogency than from any wide or profound perception of artistic realities; by contrast, Seicento writers who saw other things beneath this well-ordered surface were more often than not unable to express themselves so neatly or so persuasively, and their views were misunderstood, becoming isolated and forgotten. The association (first adumbrated by Agucchi,²⁷ and later consolidated in a thoroughly effective manner by Bellori) of the art of Annibale Carracci with this impressive and ancient point of view eventually won wide acceptance. The hero of the theoretico-interpretative tradition, the artist who was supposed to have come nearest to putting its tenets into concrete practice, was Raphael, and this fact resulted inevitably in the habit of looking at Annibale in terms of that ideal exemplar; the final development was, of course, that Annibale slipped into the position of being regarded as a sort of echo of Raphael, and that his art consequently came to be characterized as in substance retrospective. The contrast with Caravaggio which became so indispensable a set piece in the historical demonstration of the classic-idealist thesis still functions as a powerful reinforcement to this interpretation, and eventually leads Professor Lee to equate classicism with eclecticism, since he describes (p. 208) the Farnese Gallery as having "a semi-archeological and patently eclectic character, essential to its classicism."

A pronouncement of this kind opens the way to a number of fresh issues. In the first place, the question of the interpretation of the works of art (as distinct from the textual sources) now comes to the fore: in other words, the question as to whether or not—in the present year of grace—it is enlightening from the critical and art-historical point of view to describe certain paintings as eclectic in the sense that it provides an essential key to understanding them. This in its turn involves semantic problems of considerable complexity; there is, in fact, no general agreement about the precise meaning of the term "eclectic" when so used, though Professor Lee writes as if this can be assumed.²⁸ On the contrary, so loose and variable is

22. Scannelli's use of "particolare maniera" in a similar context expresses the same idea.

23. I agree of course that Dufresnoy had some sound sense, but that need not necessarily involve the anticipation of a nineteenth century concept.

24. Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite*, Florence, 1550, p. 559 (ed. Milanesi, IV, pp. 111f.): "Ma piu di tutti il graziosissimo Raffaello da Urbino, il quale studiando le fatiche de' maestri vecchi, & quelle de' moderni: prese da tutti il meglio; et fattone raccolta, arricchì l'arte della pittura. . ."

25. In his life of Raphael, Vasari has a similar passage (*Vite*, Florence, 1568, II, p. 86; ed. Milanesi, IV, p. 377): "... mescolando col detto modo [sc., that of Fra Bartolomeo] alcuni altri scelti delle cose migliori d'altri maestri, fece di molte maniere una sola, che fu poi sempre tenuta sua propria." Note the similarity of the final point to Dufresnoy's "in propriam mentem, atque modum."

26. It is completely irrelevant to introduce *at this juncture*, as Professor Lee does (p. 212), the topic of what he or I respectively may see or omit to see in the actual works of art. No doubt we both have pronounced views on the subject and would each say that the other has failed to note what is artistically important, but that is totally beside the specific point in question, which is whether or not the application by a writer of a certain formula may be regarded *per se* as invariably valid evidence of the existence of a certain artistic procedure. To argue back from the alleged artistic procedure gives the impression of trying to have it both ways.

27. Some further elucidation of my interpretation of the standpoint of Agucchi will be found in my article cited in note 9 above.

28. Professor Lee must allow me to observe that a phrase like "patently eclectic" is simply begging this particular question. It may also be noted that the equation between classicism

its meaning that careful thought is often required in order to ascertain just what any given writer is actually hoping to convey by it. Non-assimilation sounds like an impressive touchstone in abstract theory, but in concrete practice is simply a device for prejudging the issue; the moment two persons disagree as to its presence they are back where they started.

VI

For reasons of space these issues cannot be discussed here,²⁹ but, before closing, perhaps some indication may be given of the substantial differences between the points of view of Professor Lee and myself on an actual painting which he cites, the Galleria Farnese. I can scarcely credit that we have both been studying the same work, and find it extremely difficult to visualize how an experienced modern observer can spend many hours in the Galleria and emerge with the impression that he has been in what is substantially nothing but a neo-Renaissance room and was simply looking at a classic mosaic contrived by a scholarly and conscientious craftsman. To come to such a conclusion, I should have thought, constitutes a remarkable example of allowing the sight of some of the trees to blind one to the shape of the wood.³⁰

Professor Lee believes that he discerns a composite character in the Galleria; this is to a certain extent the case, but it derives not from "eclecticism," but from what is, theoretically, its precise opposite, the fact that different artistic individualities were involved—though the powerful personality of Annibale presides unmistakably over the whole and gives it unity. It is easy to pick out sections carried out above the cornice by an independent master like Agostino, and less easy (though perhaps still possible in part) to identify the various pupils concerned with the lower parts of the decoration, largely executed during Annibale's illness with the help of his drawings and cartoons. But these

and eclecticism which he favors has the incidental effect of making the identification of eclecticism deceptively easy: if classicism is detected in the work of art (and its detection can perhaps be agreed upon relatively frequently), the fact can then be cited as evidence of eclecticism, about which however, *pace* the traditionalists, agreement is much more difficult.

29. They are considered in more detail in my article cited in note 9 above.

30. The question of whether a simple classic label is adequate for Annibale Carracci is of course bound up with

are relatively practical problems of connoisseurship, not flights of theoretical fancy as to what may or may not constitute the digestion of a so-called influence. I fail to see any valid reason why it should be thought relevant to drag in the Stanza della Segnatura, or to look at Annibale with inappropriate and distorting Raphaellesque spectacles, unless it be to make the point, which few or none would dispute, that Raphael is the greater artist.³¹ The fact (upon which we may agree) that this is so is no justification, I should maintain, for giving misguided reasons for it, based on the decidedly artificial rationalization provided for the critical assessment of the later nineteenth century—a period, that is to say, when no one had the slightest inclination (let alone equipment!) for studying the art of the Seicento as an art in its own right and within its own context.³² The reason for the difference in quality between Annibale and Raphael is really quite simple; Annibale was a great artist, but not one of the very greatest. And I can hardly believe that criticism consists in flourishing an artist of the caliber of Raphael in the face of everyone else; we should deprive ourselves of the means to appreciate too much! I can only express my amazement that, at the present time, such an approach should be made to a work of the quality of the Galleria, which, on any balanced estimate, is one of the outstanding monuments of European painting.

If some sort of basic principle can be said to suggest itself as a result of an investigation of this kind, it is perhaps that there exist "inanimate" and persisting vocabularies of both ideas and forms which tend to remain abstractions from living reality unless and until they are considered *rigorously* within the restricted context (both individual and general) of those who actually make use of them from time to time.

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the really major issue of the nature of the stylistic transformation which occurred at the end of the Cinquecento; space does not permit any elaboration of this matter here.

31. In this particular case it so happened that Professor Lee introduced the topic as a consequence of referring to Vasari's remarks on Raphael (the purport of my comment on which was misunderstood).

32. Criteria inherited from the nineteenth century are as beside the point in approaching the Seicento as is that *secchezza* sometimes complained of by Seicento writers in connection with pre-High Renaissance works.

BOOK REVIEWS

GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, II), Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1951. 2 vols.; pp. 518; 150 pls. \$25.00.

Profound erudition, an impressive bibliographic apparatus, and a tireless and conscientious examination of every relevant problem have been brought to bear upon the important Season sarcophagus from the Barberini Collection in Rome, now in Dumbarton Oaks. The opening words of praise on the jacket of Dr. Hanfmann's book, "Rarely does a study springing from a single piece of sculpture achieve such wide and valid implications in the history of artistic thought," do not appear excessive. In the Preface the author himself explains the scope of the two volumes: "The plan of this study is concentric, starting with the Season sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks and proceeding in widening circles from that point." Because of the extent to which this plan is developed, far beyond the point of departure, the title of the work becomes inadequate. A monograph on a monument justifies a detailed study only of those works and phases of art and civilization that contribute directly to its explanation, making a suitable and adequate frame for its understanding; otherwise, the circles of interest from every single monument could be extended to the very limits of the history of art and human thought. Dr. Hanfmann's book deserves a title identifying it as a general study of all sarcophagi representing the Seasons throughout the period of their production; in fact, a slight extension of the descriptions and the inclusion of photographs of each sarcophagus would have made it into a Corpus of this category of monuments. Only for such a more ambitious enterprise does the detailed study of the symbolism of the Seasons in antiquity and of the substratum of thought beneath it become appropriate. The second and larger part of the book (I, pp. 73-280) is a full-fledged monograph of mythological-literary character, including the complete development of the iconography of the Horae and the Seasons from its origin to modern times, and an attempt to clarify every single aspect of this theme in terms of the evolution of ancient religion and philosophy: a task all the more weighty and intricate—often, in fact, hopeless—since the concept of the Seasons soon became complex and undefined, containing mythological, allegorical, scientific, philosophic, and religious elements.

Even considered as a monograph in itself, the second part tends to bog down in an overabundance of material. It lacks the clear-cut structure that would enable the reader to pick out the main trends of thought of the major philosophers from the shapeless flow of late classical ideas, a task rendered even more difficult by the obscurity and imprecision of the secondary authors and compilers. For example, from the point of view of iconography, is it not superfluous, and actually a

handicap, to be given a new list and lengthy description (pp. 94ff.) of every monument where the Horae are represented, beginning with the François Vase, since such listings are readily available in manuals of mythology and elsewhere? Dr. Hanfmann even includes monuments known to us only through literary descriptions, such as the Throne of Amyclae, as well as the pediments of the Parthenon, despite the fact that modern scholarly opinion (which Dr. Hanfmann fully shares) has long since abandoned the belief that these pediments ever contained any Horae. As for the evolution of the concept of the Seasons, almost every passage from ancient literature that refers to them is cited and discussed repeatedly. In this section the major part of the monuments is reviewed once more, this time in an attempt to define their significance in the light of philosophy and religion according to the date and locale assigned to every piece in the first part of the book. This effort is often completely futile, since (as we noted before) the thinking of many writers is so vague; the significance of many of the monuments is vaguer still, since it includes, along with the survival of old mythological content, a gradual overlay of astronomical, astrological, and philosophical meanings, depending on the essential character of the assorted deities to whom the seasons had been assigned as an attribute during the final phase of philosophic-religious thought among the ancients. For example, in the passages concerning the Seasons on funerary monuments (pp. 185ff. and 230ff.), a subject that has already been dealt with in many excellent works, particularly those of Cumont, it is utterly impossible to determine which meaning of the Seasons may be dominant in most of the monuments under consideration—whether they stand for the phases of life that the deceased has lost, or for the years he has lived, or for the eternity awaiting him beyond the grave, or for the eternal pleasure of all the seasons in the Reign of the Blessed, or—whether or not associated with the images of Pluto and Proserpina and an allusion to the Eleusinian mysteries—for the cosmic order, for the renewal of life and for the resurrection of the spirit, for the ascent of the soul to the realm of the immortals, etc. Or, to give another example, to discuss the presence of Dionysos on the earliest Season sarcophagi (p. 136) means to plunge into the complex and much-studied problem of the Dionysiac representations so frequently encountered in tombs and on funerary monuments in general. For the same reason, referring to the Dumbarton Oaks sarcophagus which more directly concerns us, it seems vain to me to try to establish (pp. 242ff.) whether the Seasons here represent the past life of the deceased couple, or the zodiac of the consular year, or if they allude to the deceased's devotion to mystic religions in connection with the eternity of the cosmos and of the spirit, to the Pythagorean idea that the deceased has become part of a natural recurring process,

or to the astral apotheosis. I see no valid basis for Dr. Hanfmann's suggestion of neo-Platonist influence here, in the sense of cyclic changes of the universe in which all the dead will be united in ascending to a higher sphere, changes symbolized by the passing of the seasons on earth. The suggestion is based essentially on the claim that the sculptor of the sarcophagus must have been a fervent supporter of Paganism, i.e., an aristocrat and hence imbued with neo-Platonic doctrines. Nor are the arguments by which "the subject matter immediately stamps the sculptor . . . as a pagan" (see also pp. 61ff., 64) completely convincing. The motif of the four Seasons, which dominates the greater part of the surface of the sarcophagus, is one to which the author often applies the term "intermediate," since it is a pagan as well as a Christian element. The small realistic or idyllic scenes between the Seasons—the *putti* engaged in vintage, the shepherd milking, and the reaper—also occur on unquestioned Christian monuments, e.g., on the very sarcophagus cited directly below, Lateran no. 181 (Cat. no. 539). Nor can the pagan character of the sarcophagus be proved from the fact that the figure of Winter is wearing part of the costume of Attis, a god particularly hated by the Christians. According to Dr. Hanfmann (p. 240), this iconographic peculiarity does not indicate the devotion of the deceased to this Oriental deity; it is, rather, derived at second hand from an older representation of Winter (or of a winter month) in Phrygian dress, which was then at times interpreted as Attis or Adonis but later probably became a generic feature without any such specific meaning. Does not the Phrygian cap appear even on the two Seasons in the tenth century Sacramentary of the School of Fulda in Berlin (p. 267)? The sculptor of the sarcophagus could easily have drawn such iconographic details from a pattern book containing various versions of the Seasons. There he could also have found their abstract, allegorical representation in human form, together with the concrete form showing the labors of the several seasons. The latter association seems to surprise the author (p. 63), even though right afterward he mentions its origin in various earlier monuments (e.g., the mosaic of La Chebba, Cat. no. 118).

Iconographically as well as stylistically, the author constantly tries to classify all the varied representations of the Seasons throughout the ancient world into neat categories—a scheme that fits many of the monuments about as well as the bed of Procrustes. The material from the first period of the Hellenistic era (300-150 B.C.) is divided into three groups (pp. 133ff.): one in which the Horae are part of a mythological scene (based on their hypothetical, though probable, presence on the Farnese Cup, the only example of this type); a second, in which they accompany a god (based on a hypothetical original of the third century B.C., reflected in two Roman neo-Attic reliefs—which could, however, just as easily be an independent late invention of neo-Attic times); and a third group, in which they illustrate a scientific theory. There are no actual examples of the latter type in this period, but Dr. Hanf-

mann postulates it on the assumption that there existed an original illustrated manuscript of the astronomical books of Aratus (pp. 247ff.) from which the later representations of the Seasons accompanied by the Sun and the Zodiac would be derived. The reasons for postulating this original are that the words of Aratus are well suited to these representations (as many other late Antique texts would also be); that the late writer Achilles, not before the end of the second century A.D., refers to Aratus illustrations in a general way; and, finally, that some elements of these representations do not appear alien to Hellenistic art (e.g., Hellenistic busts could be used for personifications, as are the busts of the Seasons on the late monuments under discussion).

Continuing into the second Hellenistic age and the first Roman Imperial period (150 B.C.-A.D. 100), the author distinguishes three stylistic groups of monuments (pp. 127ff.): one of Hellenistic style, or, more precisely, Hellenistic-Oriental; a neo-Attic group; and a third which he calls "Pompeian," because it is mainly represented in Pompeian painting. But what are the characteristics differentiating the three groups? "One shows very powerful, majestic female figures, obviously connected in style with the tradition of Eastern Hellenism; the other has figures that are more slender and agile, and already betrays the influence of neo-classicism. . . ." In contrast to these is "a large and loose group of Seasons in frontal and twisted attitudes, which occur in both sculpture and painting, but probably originated in painting." A monumental, majestic appearance, frontal, profile, and twisted poses, all these are external elements that cannot furnish secure criteria for an artistic grouping. Why should a majestic aspect be characteristic of late Hellenism, and particularly of the Oriental variety? Do no majestic figures appear in Attic classical art, the main source of the neo-Attic style? And are the figures of the Albani sarcophagus (no. 65), which should be a characteristic monument of the neo-Attic group, all slight and in profile? In the Hellenistic category, one of the principal groups is that named after the Phaeton painting in the Domus Aurea, preserved in a poor copy of the eighteenth century, which the author analyzes as follows: "The monumental largeness of the figures and the solemn symmetrical composition are qualities which we find in Hellenistic sculpture and—at second hand—in the mosaics of Antioch. The frontality of a whole group of figures was also more likely to occur in regions exposed to Eastern influence. The imitation of this type in Antioch is another argument in favor of Eastern Hellenistic origin. The scene agrees very closely with the presumed Alexandrian poem about Phaeton" (p. 130). These arguments are either inconclusive (such as the last one), based on completely personal interpretation (such as the one concerning the broad and monumental quality of the figures in the Brenna drawing), or completely gratuitous (such as the idea that frontal figures and symmetrical compositions are peculiar to Eastern Hellenistic art). Are the Pergamon reliefs or the Laocöon group symmetrical, frontal, motionless figures?

And does not the mosaic production of Antioch reflect artistic influences drawn from every part of the Hellenic world? Thus, piling hypothesis upon hypothesis, the conjectural date (third century B.C.) of the Phaeton poem, which supposedly inspired the conjectural Hellenistic prototype of the Domus Aurea painting (whose modest eighteenth century copy is thought to show these supposed characteristics of Hellenistic-Asiatic art), becomes the basis for assigning this iconographic type to the period under discussion, i.e., the second half of the second century B.C. at the earliest. In the circumstances, we cannot share the author's surprise (p. 135) that the types of the Seasons which he considers to be neo-Attic do not occur on the one Attic original that shows this subject, i.e., the frieze of the liturgical calendar of Hagios Eleutherios in Athens. By the way, Dr. Hanfmann's principal argument for dating this frieze in the first century B.C., that is, the generic resemblance of certain features with other monuments of the same period, has little value, since he tries in every way to establish the derivation of these details from Hellenistic or neo-Attic models of earlier date, one of which could in fact be the Athens frieze. Equally contradictory is the claim that the neo-Attic Season reliefs were created for aristocratic, Hellenizing circles in Rome, while the Pompeian paintings were done for the *nouveau riche* bourgeoisie. After everything that has been said previously about the speculative and philosophic content of the representations of the Seasons, this content could also have been intentionally borrowed by some intellectual for the decoration of his house.

This lack of precision in defining stylistic qualities invalidates a good deal of the author's noble effort to classify each Season sarcophagus according to clear-cut categories and strict chronological limits within that period of Roman art covered in the first part of his book. Beginning with the oldest sarcophagus of our category, the one in Kassel (fig. 28), the only points of comparison with the Arch of the Argentarii (p. 32) are the solemn poses of the Seasons and of the sacrificial servants, and the large scale of the members of the Imperial family (but immediately below, p. 39, we learn that the same large scale also appears in part of the next, or transitional, phase, as seen in the Louvre sarcophagus, fig. 44); and the comparison with the dated Sarcophagus of Prosenes (fig. 29) is confined to the "strict profile views of legs reinforced by incised contours." Again, apart from being vague, some stylistic criteria appear completely personal. I cannot, for example, see the heads of the Kassel sarcophagus as "round, fleshy"; to me they seem to have solid, elongated, and flat cheeks (cf. fig. 20), so that the proposed date of "perhaps around 220 A.D." (p. 33), i.e., the first phase of the Severian style, becomes uncertain. The criterion by which the sarcophagus in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (fig. 30) is attributed, not to the Severian style but to the subsequent transitional style, owing to "the intensive treatment of the eyes and the open, pouting mouths," is unsatisfactory, since these are elements peculiar to the Severian age, rather than to the subsequent period of artistic decadence, one of the char-

acteristics of which the author defines as vacuity of expression ("feeling of worry, puzzlement, or stupefaction," p. 37). The comparative material cited for the Louvre sarcophagus (fig. 44) could lead us to date it, too, toward the end of the Severian age at the earliest; but actually the comparisons with the Sarcophagus of Balbinus are so unconvincing that the Louvre sarcophagus could be dated even later than the beginning of the transitional age, since it shows a much drier manner, with hard, conventional drapery. The art of the time of Gallienus is marked, according to Dr. Hanfmann, by its "classicistic intentions." (I have tried to show how these more or less conscious returns to classical models recur throughout late antiquity and up to the Middle Ages: see *L'arte romana*, p. 25; *Annuario Sc. di Atene*, XXIV-XXVI, p. 253.) But how are these intentions revealed? In the sarcophagus in Pisa (fig. 37), "the 'classicistic' slant appears both in the attempt to restore a more unified and fluent rhythm of draperies and figures, even though this aim is executed with angularity and rigor; and in the timid renewal of a secondary plane of relief confined to small details. . . ." There is a very real contradiction in terminology here, as one cannot understand where the intentions can appear if not in the language of artistic expression. The mention of details forming a second plane is irrelevant, because such details are no more accentuated here than in other sarcophagi assigned to different periods, e.g., fig. 36, attributed to the transitional style (where the same boat, the foliage of the trees, and the *amorini* in oblique positions accentuate the depth of the space much more strikingly). The same is true of the observation about a neutral background, accentuated by the figures that move away from one another, since this feature also is seen as well and better elsewhere, even in sarcophagus no. 31, which Dr. Hanfmann places in the earliest Severian phase.

Admittedly uncertain (p. 43) is the distinction between the styles of the transitional and the Tetrarchic periods, so much so that usually the cautious formulae, "it is possible," "it is not unlikely," etc., are used in attributing the various monuments to one or the other phase, especially that of the first Tetrarchs (A.D. 280-300). All the stylistic features of this period of decadence in the second half of the third century—the linear, calligraphic manner, the "negative style" in the rendering of drapery, the flattening and the angularity of the bodies, the frontality, the cold schematic composition, the pointillist technique of the curls—find their most complete expression in the mature Tetrarchic phase; they occur more conspicuously in monuments other than the Season sarcophagi, such as the Orphic altar of 295 and the base of the Decennali of 303. (In the case of relief one cannot properly speak of the peculiar "cubism" of some Tetrarchic sculpture in the round, since in relief this characteristic is reduced to the angularity of contour mentioned before.) But the author admits that at the very moment when this manner reaches its peak in the base of the Decennali, i.e., at the turn of the third century, we again find a

tendency toward the rendering of plastic volume, heralding the approach of the so-called "Constantinian renaissance" (p. 47).

In short, Dr. Hanfmann's is a praiseworthy effort, and it would be gratifying indeed if we could divide the entire production of more than a century of Roman art into seven successive artistic phases (p. 29), sometimes even to the point of distinguishing two different styles five years apart (Gallienic in A.D. 260, but late transitional in 265). Unfortunately, the weapons offered the scholar for such an enterprise are inadequate; what Dr. Hanfmann regards as elements differentiating the several phases often appear to be merely differences of quality or of individual talent among artists sharing a common body of tradition. I do not see that up to now it has been possible to establish a greater number of clear-cut phases than I have attempted to do in the brief discussion of Roman art cited above (pp. 34ff.; *Annuario*, loc.cit., pp. 262ff.; cf. also *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, pp. 548ff.): that is, the Severian style, the decadent style of the second half of the third century, and the Constantinian style, which emerges in the course of the early fourth century.

The attribution of the Barberini sarcophagus to the Constantinian era, perhaps to the second quarter of the fourth century, is convincing: its style reflects the conscious encouragement by the Emperor of artistic production, which brought about a renewed study of classical models, models so vividly present that at times the new production may, at first glance, be confused with the products of true classicism and of the past centuries. Upon more careful inspection, however, the new tendencies and intrinsic qualities of late Antique and mediaeval art become more and more evident. Dr. Hanfmann dedicates a long analysis to all the peculiarities of this much-studied Constantinian art; following Gerke and other scholars he tries to single out a series of stylistic peculiarities as a basis for again distinguishing three phases (p. 51) and, within these, four successive groups of sarcophagi, peculiarities which once more exhibit the already noted elasticity and fluidity. As the first phase, that of the Tetrarchate (300-315), gives way to the next two (or truly Constantinian) phases, the incompetence, clumsiness, and haste revealed by the artists of that time of decadence disappear (it seems excessive to attribute to them a preference for "conscious ugliness," p. 54). One should be able to differentiate between the sarcophagi of the first and second group by means of a comparison with the reliefs of the Arch of Constantine, where two of the Victories reveal the new stylistic tendencies in the shape of the "round, chubby" heads (but, shortly before, these were called "square" instead), while the two others continue to adhere to the older style; as for the shape of the bodies, three of the figures reveal the heavy, "squat" forms of the preceding period, and only Winter has slender proportions. Similarly, in the description of the facial types on sarcophagi attributed to the first Constantinian phase, we find distorted, expressionistic (that is, emphatic) features with turned up

and deformed noses, etc., characteristics that would seem to recall the decadent style of the preceding phase rather than this one. According to Gerke, whom Hanfmann follows, the Sarcophagus of Claudianus in the Terme Museum has heads typical of the third group, with square contours similar to those of the Season sarcophagus in the same museum (fig. 75); but to me the heads of the latter seem rather roundish, and the hair style and faces of the Sarcophagus of Claudianus recall the Sarcophagus of Christ and Peter in the Lateran (fig. 78) which, according to Hanfmann, would belong to the fourth group in his classification of sarcophagi (these last two also show similarities in the general rhythm, the movement and treatment of the drapery). In fact, on the lid of the Sarcophagus of Claudianus the hair styles are obviously different, yet the cover and trough in all probability are contemporary.

Clearly, the characteristics of the "Constantinian renaissance" and the renewed study of classical models become fully discernible only as we advance into the fourth century. That the style should have continued after the death of the Emperor is hardly surprising, for an artistic revival is not created in a moment but often requires years and years to develop, during which time the older, decadent style persists in less pretentious works and among artists less susceptible to the "renaissance." Amid this uncertainty, is it not too big a claim to speak of the Lateran sarcophagus no. 110 (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. cxxxvi, 2) as "the last Season sarcophagus made in Rome"? And is it not equally hazardous to suggest dating it in the period of Julian the Apostate because of its "crypto-Christian character" (which, in reality, we have seen as a feature common to all Season sarcophagi, even in earlier periods)? Or to observe that "the subdued linear stylization of the garments points toward the time of Valens, etc." whereas, on the contrary, this could be a residue of the style before the full-fledged Constantinian manner, a retarded "Tetrarchic linearism"? In another subdivision of sarcophagi, Dr. Hanfmann postulates three kinds of workshops: secondary pagan workshops; "intermediate" workshops that produced poor sarcophagi; and major shops, some of which produced the most beautiful Christian sarcophagi. Here the differentiation between the first two classes is not very clear: must one suppose that some of the poorest shops were devoted exclusively to pagan sarcophagi, so that they would have refused to work for the Christians? Still, one can accept the conclusion that the Barberini sarcophagus was "an individual commission and an individual achievement," a fact that is easily explained. The most abundant production of sarcophagi of this category can be found precisely in the period of greatest artistic decadence in the second half of the third century, because for that very category, more than for any other, a summary and poor treatment was sufficient, with a decorative pattern lending itself to rigid symmetrical distribution. It is also clear that with the passing of time the Christian monuments continued to multiply and soon became predominant, absorbing more and

more pagan motifs into their own programs. In the following age of new artistic vigor, the largest and most ambitious pieces show a preference both for more complex and important scenes of Christian content and for antique mythological scenes. Thus it seems that the individual taste of a customer imposed on a grandiose sarcophagus—of dimensions generally used for Christian sarcophagi with double friezes—the motifs of our class; and, even if the customer was a Christian, it is obvious that the motif itself suggested to the sculptor iconographic models from the “antiquated” repertory of pagan monuments of the previous age. Constantinian classicism, on the other hand, may be found in the flavor of the work as a whole, rather than in any specific stylistic features, which again are analyzed in vague and purely external terms (compare these characteristics with reference to a Christian sarcophagus in the Lateran, p. 67: “high proportions, shining surfaces, and beautiful locks”).

The fact that the majority of Season sarcophagi are to be found in Rome and elsewhere in Italy indicates a local predilection for this subject and makes it likely that the sarcophagi themselves originated on Italian soil. It is also probable that the vast symbolic use of the Seasons for what the author calls “imperial propaganda” on the coinage of the Emperors contributed effectively to the enrichment and the evolution of the iconography of the subject. All other deductions from these facts must remain hypothetical. It is not a convincing argument for the Roman origin of Season sarcophagi that the examples found elsewhere come from regions (with the exception of Palestine?) dominated by the influence of Roman art (p. 17). Let us leave aside the knotty problem of the importance and extent of Roman influence on the art of the provinces; but, even in provinces completely dominated by the style of Rome, an iconographic motif could appear earlier than in Rome, especially on sarcophagi, which were diffused throughout the Roman world. Since the author states (p. 125) that the type of the reclining Hora with attendant *putti* derives from Hellenistic models, is it necessary to assume that the complete series of Horae and *putti* was inspired by the official coinage of Hadrian? This motif appears on the beautiful silver vase from Vienne in the British Museum (fig. 106), whose Hellenistic character is stressed by Dr. Hanfmann; it was found together with coins datable from Galba to Augustus, but the author proposes to date it in the second century A.D., on the basis of style. For the same reason, the frequently repeated claim that the combination of Tellus with Seasons as *putti* was invented by Imperial iconography (pp. 181ff., 219) does not appear entirely valid, as this motif is also found on the silver vase. The first sure example of the Seasons as *putti* known up to now occurs on the Arch of Beneventum (according to some, completed under Hadrian, but only the attic; I do not believe there is any question of the Trajanic date for the parts below), and on Hadrianic coins; but why could not the classicistic Emperor have borrowed this motif from his favorite Greek repertory, in which *putti* were so

often represented in allegorical guise, as fertilizers of the Nile, as Karpoi, etc.? Could he not have taken it from that Oriental repertory where the cycle of the Seasons in the form of *putti* appears so soon after the first Western representations, in the mosaic of the house of the “red pavement” in Antioch (attributed to the end of the reign of Hadrian or the beginning of the Antonine period)? On the other hand, Dr. Hanfmann suggests (p. 213) that the abstract busts of the Seasons, often used in the four corners of frescoes and mosaics, derive from the illustrations of popular manuscripts of astronomical or astrological content (but why in popular handbooks, which are averse to abstractions?). Their origin in the Hellenistic (?) East is presumably supported (although the first preserved monument comes from Pompeii) by the high quality of the many examples of this motif found in Syria and Africa (?). Immediately below, however, even these far-fetched arguments are invalidated by the sweeping statement that the mosaics, one of the richest categories of these Oriental monuments, “fail to show any definite development of geographic groups” (it is certain that neither the mosaics nor any other species of monument lend themselves to clear-cut classification “according to size, attributes, or shape of frames”). Here the author points to the itinerant habits of mosaicists; but other classes of artists, such as stonemasons and sculptors, also moved about a good deal, and so did the monuments themselves.

Only two Antioch mosaics show the Seasons as male types; but is this an argument for the Western origin of the type? Statistics is a science that must be handled with caution under all circumstances, especially in the field of archaeology, where so much of our knowledge depends on chance discoveries or, rather, on the history of excavations. Up to a few years ago, no cycle of Seasons as *putti* was known in the East; even today the excavation of Antioch has remained one of the few carried through on a large scale in a late Roman Syrian city. If excavations in this and other nearby regions were to be intensified, further discoveries could easily upset the statistical balance of monuments known today. This very scarcity of excavations may account for the lack of funerary monuments with representations of the Seasons in Syria and the Orient (p. 231; but the Antioch mosaic of Mnemosyne belongs in any case to a cemeterial edifice, even if the precise nature of the building cannot be determined), in contrast to Italy and France, regions that have been subjected to archaeological investigation for a longer time and more intensively. As for the lack of representations of the Seasons in Greece, one must take into consideration the absolute negligence shown even in quite recent excavations, and more so in publications, toward all works of the Roman period, even in large cities, where most of the surface remains obviously are of this time. Suffice it to say that practically none of the mosaics of the rich villas and luxurious edifices of the “city of Hadrian” in Athens itself have yet been published. Thus, in Dr. Hanfmann’s discussion of Seasons on funerary monuments, the contrast he postulates between regions sub-

ject to Roman or to Greek influence simply cannot be demonstrated. These considerations severely limit the usefulness of the long catalogue, in the appendix of Volume II, of monuments with representations of the Seasons, "intended to provide a comprehensive factual foundation for the discussion of the iconography" (II, p. 131). The author admits that it is probably incomplete and susceptible to rapid growth; in fact, over fifty items have been added during the preparation of the book. "Don't tell me of facts, I never believe facts; you know Canning said nothing was so fallacious as facts, except figures" (Sidney Smith). In truth, catalogues, indices, statistics, synoptic tables of motifs, divisions and subdivisions into categories, periods, phases, and sub-phases—all these show a growing tendency toward schematization in recent methods of archaeology. They are instruments which are good for the exact sciences, which at times can serve as aids, but which cannot replace a deeper understanding of spiritual and artistic phenomena (human, individual phenomena, which transcend and challenge all the schemes and fixed rules). This is the true task of archaeology, a humanistic discipline. (Cf. my notes on the dangers and deficiencies of these methods in *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, IV, 1950, pp. 178ff.).

We have seen above how insecure is the division of monuments with representations of the Earth and the Seasons into three phases, the first of which would be limited to Italy and used for Imperial propaganda (p. 182), but is the grouping of Season sarcophagi into four phases more consistent (p. 21)? The only difference between the first two phases would be that, in the first, the notion of the Seasons descending into the tomb is originated and introduced into sepulchral monuments, while in the second the Seasons in the form of *putti* are used in sepulchral art, but not yet on sarcophagi. And what is the purpose of having the list of "later" sarcophagi (pp. 27ff.) include only those with frieze decorations and not the architectonic or strigillated ones, a list which actually covers almost the whole development of our category, excluding only the first half-century? Why divide the Seasons as *putti* (p. 218) into two classes, standing and running? And what is the basis for dividing the illustrated calendars into three groups (p. 222 and note 52; II, p. 99), with a supposedly different derivation, Hellenistic or Roman, for each?

In spite of Dr. Hanfmann's effort to establish differentiating characteristics for each of the many periods and artistic phases listed, his book contains many stylistic and art historical judgments that are either vague or altogether gratuitous. The case of the silver vase in Vienne has been mentioned above. My dating of the mosaic in the house of the red pavement in Antioch is called too early; and the mosaic is attributed to the third century, but with no supporting argument to refute the stylistic analysis of the figures, the character of the geometric ornament, and the general features of the whole house, which had suggested my date. The patera of Parabiago is attributed to the fourth century for stylistic and iconographic reasons not specifically defined. Also "the seated figure [in Greece] derives from

the Orient" (p. 97). The sarcophagus of Junius Bassus was probably done by an artist from Constantinople, because his "Hellenism" goes far beyond that of similar products in Rome (p. 52). This is a vicious circle, for as long as one attributes to Eastern workshops all the finer products of a "Hellenic" flavor, one will not be able to recognize the penetration of the best Constantinian style even in Rome. To complete the historical picture of the artistic representations of the Horae in the Hellenistic period, known almost exclusively through literary sources, the *trapeza* of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Megalopolis mentioned by Pausanias (p. 101) is attributed to the fourth century, without a word of explanation. Can we infer a cult of the Horae at Alexandria from their probable representation on the Farnese Cup, or on an Apulian crater (no. 10), even though here they occur in association with Demeter, Triptolemus, and the Nile? Why not presuppose a cult of the Horae at Cyrene, too, because of their association with the cult of Apollo Kaneios in a literary text, a hymn of Callimachus (p. 83)?

The fragment of the Golenischeff sarcophagus, which I interpreted as a representation of two months (ART BULLETIN, XXIII, 1941, pp. 273ff.), is considered by Hanfmann to be a representation of two Seasons (p. 17) because of the relationship of this monument to a series of arcaded Season sarcophagi (although I had pointed out that in this case, besides the four Seasons, which could not have filled the whole façade of such a sarcophagus, there must have been other figures on the sides); but the figure of the sower, whom we find in the iconography of the limited number of monuments with allegories of the months, is absent in the iconography of the vast repertory used for the Seasons (p. 269 and no. 65). It is true that in antique iconography a motif can be adapted to different meanings (p. 227), but that the figure represented in the wheel of time in a group of monuments that I have described (*Hesperia*, XIII, pp. 269ff.) can be interpreted as Aion, identified by the inscription of an Antioch mosaic, is supported by concomitant arguments, such as the adherence of the representations to literary texts and the presence of another inscription of Aion on some coins, while on others it is replaced by equivalent symbols, such as the Phoenix, etc.; another interpretation can be accepted only if supported by more suitable arguments. The group representations of the Seasons which the author calls "panoramic" (that is, with figures in rustic activity) are supposedly derived from generic representations of agricultural subjects, painted or mosaic, of the third century (p. 223). But this is the category to which belongs the mosaic of Dominus Julius of Carthage (no. 546), which cannot be considered as an illustration of the Seasons, as well as the vintage mosaic of La Chebba and, in all probability, older monuments, from which, as I tried to show before, the allegories of the Seasons and those of the single months were probably derived. (ART BULL., *loc. cit.*, pp. 282ff.). As for the busts of the Seasons, the origin of the busts of divinities or personifications within a medallion is

traced by the author to the age of Alexander (p. 212); in reality, one can go back much further, at least to the beginning of the classical period for sculpture and to the end of the archaic period for painting (see Karousos, *J. H. S.*, LXXI, 1951, pp. 96ff.). According to Dr. Hanfmann, the subsequent introduction of the portrait of the deceased on sarcophagi was caused by the deep preoccupation with the human soul and the knowledge of its relation to the cosmic order that is manifest in the third century (p. 238); but how can we then explain the presence of portraits on funerary monuments of the preceding period, when these spiritual and philosophic needs had not yet arisen?

It is not necessary to stress other peremptory statements, inaccuracies, or even some oversights (the Louvre sarcophagus, fig. 44, does not represent Dionysos pouring wine from the Kantharos, p. 233; on p. 255, "Seasons and Horae" are mentioned instead of Graces and Horae, etc.). This is not the place for an extended discussion of other statements revealing the author's general attitude toward art and the philosophy of art. To cite but one example, in the age of Hadrian and in Roman art of the second century in general, there is seen a "rift between form and content" (p. 143). But there can never be a divorce of form and content in any manifestation of artistic value. There are always some who put together a patchwork taken from the art of the past; and Roman art—whether it used formulae borrowed from the repertory of the past or created something new—if it had something to say, did so, even in the century which created the dome of the Pantheon and the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, with perfect adherence to its own spirit. The mutual relation between literature and the visual arts (p. 140) is another subject that cannot be discussed in the limited space at our disposal.

The quality of the illustrations is not infrequently mediocre, in contrast to the lavishness of the edition, and certainly insufficient for the close stylistic study that would permit us to check the author's detailed analysis of the monuments. The reading of a book so difficult *per se* is not aided by the fact that the notes are placed, by chapters, in the second volume, apart from the text. There are also some inconsistencies in the cross-references; sometimes the text refers directly to the illustration, sometimes to the catalogue number which leads one to the illustration, if any. At other times, it refers to a note and thence to the figure (e.g., the sarcophagus of Kassel, p. 22; for the mosaics of Antioch on p. 130, there is one reference to figs. 99-102 and another, immediately afterward, to note 146, which refers to fig. 103, etc.). In spite of the wealth of notes assembled in Volume II, bibliographic citations are sometimes included in the text itself; while in the apparatus, which is very accurate on the whole, some citations are left incomplete (e.g., p. 13, note 2, on the Arch of the Argentarii: Haynes and Hirst, without the title).

But whatever the differences of opinion concerning single monuments and the evaluation of individual artistic phenomena, and perhaps a different approach to history or to the creative spirit, no one can deny

the great merit of Dr. Hanfmann's book: he has faced a vast field, gathered a great deal of precious material to illustrate the history and art of the ancient world, and made a valid contribution to our understanding of the complex and vexing problem of Roman art.*

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WHITNEY S. STODDARD, *The West Portals of Saint-Denis and Chartres: Sculpture in the Ile de France from 1140 to 1190; Theory of Origins*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952. Pp. 64; 40 pls. \$20.00.

The task of examining Romanesque ornament is one before which any art historian might quail. It was undertaken some years ago by Professor Stoddard, now of Williams College. His work, in ramified form, is now presented as *The West Portals of Saint-Denis and Chartres*. The book contains five sections and three appendices, as follows:

I. The west portals of Saint-Denis are examined as to their general character, aesthetic quality, and condition, with valuable indications of the original sculpture (all ornamental) *in situ*. The ornamental columns and fragments of columns in the Louvre and Cluny Museums and the three Saint-Denis heads in this country are also discussed.

II. The west portals of Chartres form the subject of the longest single section within the book, being first analyzed for comparisons with Saint-Denis, then separately treated as an historical monument, including a study of the available excavation reports.

III. The south portal of Notre Dame at Etampes is studied in relationship to Saint-Denis, with which general affinities are found, and in relationship to Chartres (with the conclusion that Etampes predates Chartres).

IV. The Ile de France and its environs are explored for monuments of the second half of the twelfth century showing the influence of Chartres. Le Mans, Saint-Ayoul at Provins, Saint-Loup-de-Naud, and Senlis provide the examples illustrating the evolution of figure and ornamental sculpture.

V. "A theory of origins" moves away from the Ile de France to deal with figure and ornamental sculpture first in Languedoc (S. Sernin and S. Etienne at Toulouse, Moissac, La Daurade), then in western France (Angoulême, Poitiers, Aulnay, Parthenay, Angers), and finally in Burgundy. The last-named receives the fullest attention, with both manuscripts (of the Cîteaux and Dijon groups) and sculpture (Paray-le-Monial, Vézelay, Saulieu, Avallon) included. The closest associations between Burgundy and Saint-Denis-Chartres are found in the ornament of both

manuscripts and sculpture. Possible associations of figure style are characterized as tenuous, however.

Appendix I. Catalogue of ornament at Saint-Denis.

Appendix II. Catalogue of ornament on the Royal Portal of Chartres.

Appendix III. Saint-Denis bas-relief.

A somewhat loose unity among these sections is reflected in the author's decision to call them "parts" and not chapters, but it is an arrangement in keeping with the original nature of the book as a doctoral dissertation. Professor Stoddard explains that parts I through IV of his work remain substantially as written in 1940-1941. One can sympathize with the difficulties caused by long delay in publication while at the same time regretting, for example, that discussion of such an important discovery as the Saint-Denis relief (found in 1947) is not integrated into the argument but left to a separate appendix.

It is a tribute to the importance of the subject of the book that readers are sure to find themselves wishing for wider information on some subjects. One of the basic problems raised is that of the history of the Chartres west façade. Professor Stoddard's study of the theories of the French scholars who have examined the site archeologically leads him to accept the conclusion of Lefèvre-Pontalis (1900) that the façade was originally placed not between the towers at their eastern boundary but farther east still, within the present nave. This theory, I believe, needs to be confirmed by new studies and measurements, especially of the sculpture, in order to disclose the original forms of the portals. For instance, reconstruction of the original placing (or destined placing) of the *Gemini* and *Pisces* reliefs on the right portal, meant for the left, might show the design and proportions of the three arches to have been noticeably different, and very possibly based on less pointed forms. It is possible, too, that the *Musica* may have been displaced: it seems to have been meant for a left-hand voussoir. The disappearance of the canopy of the Madonna should be accounted for, and the slight shift of the double lintel toward the right.

A second important field in which I should like to find more intensive analysis relates to consideration of Cistercian manuscripts. The author selects Burgundy, and especially Burgundian manuscripts (he does not make use of manuscript material elsewhere), as the most likely source for the Saint-Denis and Chartres ornamental style, in this suggestion presumably following the leads of Porter and Priest. The datings of Oursel for the justly famous group of manuscripts from Cîteaux, now in Dijon, are used. It will be remembered that Oursel based his dates on two factors: the colophons relating to Abbot Stephen Harding (MS 13, completed in 1109, MSS 168-170, dated 1111); and the edicts by which the Cistercians sought to terminate the use of ornament in manuscripts. To Oursel, the latter factor yields a *terminus ante quem* of 1125 (or, at the latest, of 1134). Of the twenty Cîteaux volumes in Dijon, the arguments of Oursel impose a dating of before or ca. 1125 on nineteen.

The twentieth, obviously later, is brought down to 1224-1236, when "la règle proscrivant la miniature fléchissait."

In accepting the general chronology of Oursel, Professor Stoddard seems quite rightly to feel that the span of time, 1111-1125, allotted to manuscript production in the scriptorium of Cîteaux is too short, and therefore employs the later terminus of 1134, as follows (p. 50): "In 1134 detailed statutes were promulgated forbidding the use of ornament in manuscripts. Other stringent rules governed sculpture. Assuming that these rules were obeyed, the date of 1134 establishes a *terminus ante quem* for the Cistercian manuscripts under discussion." However, the statutes did not originate in 1134, but earlier. The edition of the Cistercian statutes by Canivez (1, Louvain, 1933) shows the edicts of 1134 divided into two sections. Only the second is concerned with "statuta ipsius anni 1134." The first part, including the brief statements relating to sculpture, painting, and crosses (no. xx) and to manuscripts and windows (no. lxxx) is headed "Statutorum annorum precedentium prima collectio: iam parata a sancto Stephano, promulgata fuit a beato Rainardo, eius successore, in capitulo cistercii anno 1134." Therefore, if we grant 1134 as the latest possible date for some of the ornamental manuscripts, we are still forced to conclude that some were produced under Stephen Harding between 1111 and 1134 while the feeling, if not yet the law, of the Cistercians was for simplicity, and I doubt that the promulgation of the statute by Reynaud de Bar changed the situation very much. In short, I wonder if the magical date of 1134 really has much significance and if it can indeed be assumed "that these rules were obeyed."

St. Bernard, the apostle of austerity, had founded Clairvaux in 1115, "reformed" Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis in 1127, and was to live on until 1153. Yet his own monastery seems to have produced illuminated manuscripts in a continuous stream: in the collection from Clairvaux now in Troyes there are about two dozen twelfth century manuscripts, including one dated 1158 and another of ca. 1186-1193, two dating from the late twelfth to the early thirteenth century, and another two dozen of the thirteenth century proper. Furthermore, there are works of art which can with some assurance be associated with St. Bernard himself. On p. 28, the iconography of the Royal Portal at Etampes is discussed from the point of view of its relationships with the teachings of Bernard. With regard to the *Jesse Tree* representation in Dijon MS 129, from Cîteaux (Oursel, pl. XLIX), where the dove of the Holy Ghost is shown perched on the pearly nimbus of the Virgin Mary, it is difficult to avoid a connection with Bernard's words on the humility of the Virgin, "Si igitur Maria humilis non esset, super eam Spiritus sanctus non requievisset; si super eam non requievisset, nec impraegnasset." The typological miniature on fol. 21v of MS 641 also shows a close relationship with the writings of Bernard.

Lastly, there is evidence of laxity in the application of the statutes in the *Pictor in Carmine*, that unidenti-

fied (English? Cistercian?) writer of ca. 1200 published by M. R. James (*Archaeologia*, xciv, 1951, pp. 150ff.) who repeats the strictures of Bernard from the *Apologia ad Willelmum*—and then proceeds to lay out the subject matter for a cycle of 138 scenes, each with from two to six illustrative types.

I hope it is clear that I do not mean to suggest that it was Professor Stoddard's duty to investigate such matters as these, but only that he might have been more hesitant in his use of certain earlier authorities and wider-ranging in his presentation of the problems involved in some of his assumptions. Such suggestions are perhaps inevitable results of the rather tentative nature of his work—conscientious, painstaking, and sound, but not divorced from student methods and definitive only in the field of the Saint-Denis-Chartres ornamental style and not in the broader area of the intricate relationships among the Romanesque schools in various mediums.

The book is produced as 64 pages of text, handsomely printed but paper-bound, and 40 loose plates of high quality, placed together in a paper-covered slip-case, and excessively priced.

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RICHARD BERNHEIMER, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952. Pp. 224; 50 ills. \$4.00.

Richard Bernheimer's little book is an astonishingly rich, urbane, and erudite essay in noble and ignoble savagery. Its author may claim to have discovered the wild men—a tribe virtually unknown to anyone but the specialist in certain strictly limited fields. Here for the first time this strange creature is systematically studied in its "Natural History," its "Mythological Personality," its "Theatrical Embodiment," its "Learned Aspect," its "Erotic Connotations," and its "Heraldic Role," to quote the six chapter headings of Bernheimer's book. It is easy to criticize the scientist who in venturing into *terra incognita* is at every new corner of the jungle compelled to devise new instruments adapted to the measuring and recording of new and unexpected situations and phenomena. My criticism, specific and general, should therefore be definitely understood as being subordinate to feelings of mingled admiration and envy at such a singularly fruitful and imaginative enterprise as the *Wild Men*. With the appearance of this book, wild men and women have become objects worthy of the art historians' lasting attention. Bernheimer's study is also one more important contribution to a new and significant trend in mediaeval studies which has gone far to show that *la clarté du moyen-âge* is not something to be taken for granted,

but rather a precious state of equilibrium that had to be created anew every single mediaeval day.¹ The mediaeval wild people—at best demons of fertility and death, at worst *incubi* and creatures whose very appearance made it uncomfortably clear that they could live without benefit of religion—presented vivid illustrations of Everyman's innate tendency to fall from grace. Hence their presence in almost all of the early mediaeval books of penance which have come down to us. They are key figures in any study of mediaeval demonology and superstition.

With the Renaissance much of this changes fundamentally. Although this phenomenon is not clearly defined, let alone analyzed, its manifold aspects are, on the whole, admirably documented in Bernheimer's book. As I see it, the savage with his base appetites is, almost imperceptibly, transformed in the view of the civilized society of a new age into a *calamitas desiderabilis*, until finally he becomes either an integral part of man's psychological make-up or an eloquent projection of man's dissatisfaction with a world of ever-increasing artificiality. It is perhaps astonishing to find that in a book entitled *Wild Men in the Middle Ages* more than 50 per cent of text and pictures is devoted to post-mediaeval material. The answer to this seeming inconsistency lies in the over-all plan of the book, which is intended as a study of mediaeval traits which—at times—can only be examined in their later echoes. Bernheimer, in trying to live up to the mediaeval character of his wild men, is repeatedly forced to reconstruct (often brilliantly) a lost mediaeval tradition from modern instances. Less satisfactory seems to me the resultant tendency to interpret the manifold instances of wildmanry in Renaissance and Baroque as mere outgrowths of this mediaeval tradition. The folk are invariably poor guardians of any cultural tradition. The redeeming feature of almost every scrap of ritual, folk song, or fairy tale is the contribution of its civilized recorder and observer (cf., for the author's all too great reliance on this kind of material, pp. 22, 56, 67, 94). Only as well-read a philologist as Jacob Grimm could create the fairy tale of the *Sternthaler*—"nach dunkeler Erinnerung aufgeschrieben"—by enlivening a trivial children's story with traits borrowed from the myth of Danae and the legend of St. Martin of Tours. Only as sensitive and poetic a scholar as Bernheimer could depict the (often rather repulsive) wild folk to the reader's enchantment. The complete novelty of the character of the wild men in post-mediaeval times is thrown into clear relief by positive evidence, adduced by Bernheimer himself; beginning with the fourteenth century (*Bal des Ardents*, A.D. 1392) wild-men disguises can be an attribute freely elected by courtiers, while simultaneously popular convention begins to stress the wild man's beneficial qualities and makes him the spokesman of noble "Laments . . . about the Unfaithful World" (e.g., pp. 52 and 113). The victorious wild man (victorious both in a

1. This began with Meyer Schapiro's article, "On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art," in *Art and Thought*,

Issued in Honour of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy . . . , London, 1947, pp. 130ff.

physical and in a moral sense) marks, in Bernheimer's own words, "a major turning point in the history of European Civilization."

The author's familiarity with the vernacular literature of the Middle Ages, its epics, its drama, and its legends (carefully charted in their geographical distribution), along with its counterparts in the arts, tapestries, wedding chests, and the like, is impressive. It is with delight that the reader finds innumerable reinterpretations of themes familiar as well as out of the way. Goethe's Harz Mountain wild men (*Faust*, Part II, Act I) appear in a new light—that is, not so much as *ein inneres Erlebnis* but as tradition straight from Froissart (p. 72 and note 59); the association of carnival and Twelfth Night rituals with possible Byzantine antecedents is very suggestive (p. 76); the relationship between the classical Silenus, Hercules, and Proserpina and the mediaeval wild men and women is discussed with subtle care (pp. 94f., 101f., and 132f.); the meticulous interpretation of the inscriptions, often hyper-compressed and cryptic, on tapestries and *Minnekästchen* in the light of literary evidence and sources hitherto unrecognized is highly gratifying (*passim*); the interpretation of the wild-men hunts as genuine echoes of the slaying and subsequent resurrection of the god is very instructive (pp. 56f. and elsewhere). One of the most beautiful and unexpected denouements will be found in Bernheimer's account of the new marital eroticism (wholly incompatible with the mediaeval conventions of Love) as expressed in the amours of King Wenceslaus of Bohemia and his queen (pp. 153ff. and fig. 40). Here and elsewhere we learn that the wild people may also be of an aquatic nature. I am quite certain it is in this ambient that the mediaeval Venus, the ubiquitous demon of Luxuria, mingles surviving traces of the pagan *anadyomene*² with the Arabic sidereal tradition of the fatal planet Venus who, nude and with flowing hair, a true wild woman, shows herself astride her mule (best known as Lady Godiva of Coventry), often accompanied by her *pompa diabolica*.³

We hear of the late mediaeval legend of St. John Chrysostom, who assumes wild-man guise and man-

ners without losing his saintly qualities (p. 17). But this is neither astonishing nor exceptional. Sylvan solitude and hirsuteness are found in the most venerable hermits and recluses. It might have been valuable to investigate the polarity, so common in mediaeval thought, in which wild-men characteristics may stand for the alternatives of perdition on the one hand and salvation on the other. Little Zacchaeus was such a positive sylvan type, and from Otto III to Petrarch,⁴ the desire to flee the world and its comforts in order to seek God in a forest retreat adds an important aspect to wild-men lore in the form of a positive religious experience. How strongly this duality was felt and tolerated may be seen in Pierre Bersuire's article, composed in the 1340's, *s.t.* "Pilus"; here an elaborate discussion of hairiness ranges from that sported by John the Baptist to that of the *fauni & silvani*—that is, from "pili [qui] sunt virtutes" to the "pili pestilentiae criminalis."⁵

Quite likely Bernheimer's insistence on the mediaeval character of the wild men has deprived us of a closer discussion of some of the most important exponents of post-mediaeval times: Mozart-Schikaneder's Papageno (fleetingly mentioned on p. 83), whose tradition apparently reaches back to the animal dances of the early *mimus*;⁶ Heinrich Heine's *Atta Troll*, representing a perfect blend of wild-men and ursine traits; and Shakespeare's Caliban, an ideal representation of base and hirsute savagery impervious to the dogmatic and moral teaching of the Church. With Caliban as the representative of "harsh primitivism" and thus the counterpart to the creed of a "golden age," expounded by old Lord Gonzalo,⁷ *The Tempest* offers one of the most exhaustive *catalogues raisonnés* of the Renaissance characteristics constituting the wild man. A specifically mediaeval element is, incidentally, provided by Caliban's prone posture, which in scholastic understanding, far from betraying a "rough sense of humor" (see pp. 7 and 120, and figs. 1 and 3 in particular), would leave no doubt about Caliban as a lost soul: the greater the number of a creature's points of contact with the earth, the further removed he will be from the possibility of ultimate salvation.⁸

2. e.g., Cleopatra of Egypt at Tarsos and Apulejus' Isis *anadyomene*, incarnate in the lives of a good many early mediaeval saints and penitents of the Eastern Mediterranean.

3. Bernheimer seems to have overlooked the best discussion of the *pompa diabolica*, by J. H. Waszink, *Vigiliae Christianae*, I, Amsterdam, 1947, pp. 13-41; also F. von Bezold, *Das Fortleben der antiken Götter im mittelalterlichen Humanismus*, Bonn and Leipzig, 1922, p. 65.

4. For Zacchaeus, cf. Rabelais, Prologue to *Pantagruel*, IV ("... the monks at St. Ayl ... call him St. Sylvain"); for Otto III, cf. P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, I, Leipzig, 1929, esp. pp. 180ff.; and for Petrarch, *Metricae*, II, 19.

5. *Dictionarium seu Repertorium morale*, III, ed. Venice, 1583, pp. 62f. For the negative aspect we might turn to the beautiful vision of Hildegard of Bingen in which—among the six groups representing mankind attending the mystery of the Transubstantiation—those "of hirsute bodies and unclean souls" appear *ut porci luto se involuentes* (*Scivias* II, *visio* VI, ed. Migne, P.L., CXCII, col. 535).

6. See, e.g., Otto Rommel, *Die Maschinenkomödie*, Leipzig, 1935, p. 67. At some point naturally hirsute people cease to be seen mythologically, theatrically, demonologically, in an antiquarian sense, heraldically, etc., but are accepted as plain hairy persons. The earliest instance of this scientific approach which I have come across may be found in Ulysse Aldrovandi (1522-1605), *Monstrorum historia* . . . , 1st ed., Bologna, 1642. This work, like so many of Aldrovandi's writings, did not appear in print until many years after the author's death; here (pp. 16ff.) we find descriptions of actual persons living in Bologna whom Aldrovandi presents as unfortunate victims of all-over hairiness (woodcuts on pp. 16, 17, and 18, showing father and son, and two young ladies, all dressed in the fashion of their day).

7. As related in his famous speech (II, i) on the ideal commonwealth, which Shakespeare had lifted, almost word for word, from John Florio's translation (1603) of Montaigne's essay on the *canibales*; this, in turn, was nothing but a close paraphrase of passages found in Tacitus' *Germania*.

8. Hence the plausible idea that men and birds, in that

The apparatus of Bernheimer's book consists of a listing of Illustrations (pp. xi-xiii), Notes (pp. 189-216), an Index of Names (pp. 217-222), and an Index of Places (pp. 222-224), confined to geographic appellations that occur in the text. The reader whom curiosity may drive into further wild-men research will sorely miss a listing of the wealth of sylvan terms scattered throughout the text and Notes, and only haphazardly entered in the Index of Names; such a listing might either have appeared as part of the Index of Names (under "Wild men and women") or, preferably, as a separate glossary. The bibliography is lost in the Notes and the literature cited is, unfortunately, superabundant in disturbing typographical errors and misquotations, and suffers, at times, from all too great brevity.⁹

It seems that the blame for these, largely technical, shortcomings is not entirely to be laid at the author's doorstep (cf. p. viii). It is particularly regrettable that an excellent and eloquent choice of pictorial material is inadequately reproduced and that a book destined to find and attract many and loving readers, should have been sent on its way in such unattractive garb.

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ILARIA TOESCA, *Andrea e Nino Pisano*, Florence, Sansoni, 1950. Pp. 87; 163 pls.

At a time when monographs are written on such lesser lights as Tino di Camaino and Goro di Gregorio, it is surprising to find that this honor has been withheld for so long from the far greater figure of Andrea Pisano. A successful start in that direction was made in 1940 by Ilse Falk,¹ who carefully examined the documentary evidence and the literary sources referring to Andrea's life and art. More valuable still, her painstaking analysis of the iconography of the bronze doors threw light on some aspects of Andrea's art which until then had escaped the attention of scholars. Unfortunately, the promised second volume, which is to deal with the all-important matter of

Andrea's style, has not yet been published. The book under review should therefore be welcome.

Miss Toesca discusses not only the life and works of Andrea, but also those of his son, Nino. The reason she gives for this inclusion is that so many works by Nino or even by his school have recently been attributed to his father that the outline of Andrea's artistic personality has become blurred. While this is true, we believe that most recent additions to Andrea's work are so utterly unfounded as to offer no serious problems. An exception is the attribution to Andrea of the Madonna in the Opera del Duomo at Orvieto, which cannot be dismissed so lightly. However, the years between 1330, when Andrea first appeared on the stage of history, and 1348, when he died, are so brief a span that we feel grateful to Miss Toesca for having given this stage greater width and depth. The tradition of Pisa and the influence of French sculpture are among the forces that helped to form the style of Andrea. The impact of the same forces is still felt in the work of Nino, although these forces themselves have changed considerably in the course of a generation. Thus analogous situations (or what appear to be such) in the artistic developments of father and son may throw light upon each other.

In the bronze doors of the Florentine Baptistery Miss Toesca finds French influence mainly, if not exclusively, in the quadrilobed forms framing each of the twenty-eight reliefs. Undoubtedly the quatrefoil penetrating either a square placed diagonally or a lozenge was imported from France, where it had attained great popularity in the course of the thirteenth century. But this form had become indigenous in Italy long before. It is found, for instance, in the decoration of the Arena Chapel, in the Giottesque cross of that chapel, and in the two crosses in Florence, at Ognissanti and S. Marco, which derive from the Paduan one. In all these examples, the quatrefoil penetrates a square standing on one of its angles, while in the frames on the bronze doors it penetrates a lozenge. The difference is easily explained by the fact that the Giottesque frames are placed on square panels, those of the bronze doors on panels in the shape of standing rectangles. This proportion of height to width, as well as the number

Province has charitably created them with only two points of contact with the sinful earth (through which *affectiones* can reach them), may rate as potentially noble; that quadrupeds are lowly brutes of necessity; that the base worms and serpents, who even touch the earth with their bodies, are past salvation. Cf. Bersuire, *op.cit.*, s.v. "Pes, Pedes" (*ed. cit.*, p. 57).

I might add here that the wild man who appears as a civilized and amorous chessplayer on the fourteenth century Rhenish casket (fig. 32, bottom) is not shown "with legs crossed to signify unconcern" (p. 124), but assumes either the conventional minstrel-pose made famous through Walther von der Vogelweide or the pose of impediment (which then would be indicative of his advanced state of domestication), a pose which classical antiquity bestowed upon its runaway slaves; or, possibly, a combination of both. For an example of the latter alternative, cf. "A Bronze Statuette of a Comic Actor" (Alexandrian, probably second century B.C.), which was published under this title by Margarete Bieber in the *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, ix, No. 2, 1950, figs.

1, 5, and 6, and note 11.

9. e.g., No. 92 of the *Carmina Burana* (stanza 69 as quoted on p. 95) reads quite differently in the one and only edition to be cited: Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann, 1, Heidelberg, 1941, pp. 101f. Burchardus of Worms and related authorities are conveniently gathered in English translation, and provided with an excellent commentary, in John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance . . .*, New York, 1938. For the Latin original of Book xix of Burchardus' *Decretum*, entitled "Corrector et medicus," see Migne, *P.L.*, cxi, cols. 537-1088. Unaccountably, the Petrarch passages quoted in notes 77ff. (pp. 207f.) from Altamura's flawless edition are sadly garbled, which is a pity inasmuch as Bernheimer's discussion of the Brahman ideal of *vita solitaria* from the fourth century A.D. down to Petrarch (pp. 107ff.) represents one of the high points of this book. And so it goes.

1. Ilse Falk, *Studien zu Andrea Pisano* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Zurich), Hamburg, 1940.

of narrative reliefs—twenty, arranged in five rows—and other details, are in turn strikingly similar to the arrangement of the late twelfth century door by Bonannus at Pisa. The drawing of this door ordered by the Arte di Calimala two months before Andrea began to work on the Baptistery doors may therefore have been of greater importance for the general composition of the doors² than Miss Toesca is inclined to admit. In any case, for the quatrefoil frames around the reliefs Andrea did not need to turn his eyes to France. The connections with France are of a more decisive nature.

Andrea might have become acquainted with contemporary French sculpture through Tuscan sculptors returned from abroad, such as Giovanni Pisano or the Master of the first façade of Orvieto ("Ramo di Paganello"),³ or else through Frenchmen working on Tuscan soil, such as the French group active at Carrara about 1320.⁴ Of these possibilities Miss Toesca mentions only one, the influence of Giovanni Pisano. She finds—and I thoroughly agree with her—no great similarity between the relief conceptions of Giovanni and Andrea. On the other hand, there is no doubt that a detail like the Elizabeth of the *Nativity* is adapted from Giovanni's Pisan pulpit, despite the general dependence of this scene on Giotto's composition. Miss Toesca explains the connection by assuming that Andrea received his early training not in the workshop, but under the immediate influence of Giovanni. This conclusion seems less convincing. The *Birth of St. John* is not the only instance in which a borrowing from Giovanni Pisano occurs. Another, which seems to have been overlooked, is found in the relief of *Herod Receiving the Head of St. John*. In this scene, more strikingly even than in some others, Ilse Falk and Jenő Lányi⁵ have been able to prove the great importance of the mosaics on the dome of the Baptistery for the composition of Andrea's reliefs. Miss Toesca strongly underrates the portent of these comparisons: nothing could demonstrate more clearly Andrea's narrative genius than his slight but decisive changes in the established iconographic patterns. Thus, in *Herod Receiving the Head of St. John*, the same kneeling servant who in the mosaic merely offers a goblet of wine to Herod now presents the head of St. John to him. In the mosaic Salome herself, standing at the other end of the table, offers the head to her mother; in the relief she occupies the same place, her arms folded across her chest, and a darkly brooding expression on her young face. This Salome, so much more dramatic than in the other panels, is adapted in pose and expression from one of the Sibyls on Giovanni's pulpit at Pistoia.

Borrowings such as these are obviously not the fruit of an early training under the influence of Giovanni Pisano. They are quotations used with consummate skill, which allow no conclusions as to Andrea's early training. Nor have they any bearing on the specific character of Andrea's acquaintance with French sculpture. It is equally impossible that Andrea could have obtained this knowledge from the French sculptors working at Carrara about 1320. Their manner is typical of the early phase of the "rigid style." No traces of such a development are found in Andrea, who owes much to a considerably older style of French sculpture which began shortly before the end of the thirteenth century; among its outstanding monuments is the tomb of Philip III, the Bold, at St. Denis (completed in 1307).⁶ The mysterious "Ramo di Paganello" goes back to the same phase within the French evolution. The fact that his successor, who carved the four reliefs representing the *Youth of Christ* on the third pier of Orvieto cathedral, combined this stylistic influence with compositional borrowings from Giovanni Pisano has caused a superficial resemblance between these reliefs (as well as later ones) at Orvieto and the style of Andrea.⁷ Deceived by this resemblance, some writers have gone so far as to see the influence, or even the hand, of Andrea in the façade decoration of Orvieto. This theory, which hardly needs to be refuted today, is justly rejected by Miss Toesca.

On the other hand, Andrea's familiarity with French sculpture is not limited to the style current at the turn of the century and shortly after, when he himself was young. The relationship between the neutral backgrounds of his relief and the forms that fill it has little in common with French reliefs of ca. 1300. At Auxerre, for example, thin, elongated, "Gothic" figures are set within an overwhelming expanse of neutral background, and the quatrefoil frames are very different from those found in Giotto and Andrea himself: by this time, such frames had become old-fashioned in France. Nor can this property of Andrea's relief style, despite all the architectural and landscape setting, be derived from Giotto, even where he uses Giotto's compositions. Nothing is more significant than the changes to which he subjects the Giotto models: the emphasis is no longer on the setting, but on the neutral background behind and around it. A shallow spatial zone is created between the background and the foremost plane of the highly molded quatrefoil frames. The depth of this zone is filled completely by the figures; no attempt is made to increase the depth of the relief by illusionistic means.

This relief style is derived from the box relief of the "classical" French Gothic as it appears around the

2. See the able discussion of the Bonannus doors and their influence on the general arrangement of the Baptistery doors in *ibid.*, p. 42.

3. On this master and the most recent opinions concerning him, see my review of Enzo Carli, *Le sculture del Duomo di Orvieto*, ART BULLETIN, XXXIV, 1952, p. 60.

4. cf. Ulrich Middeldorf and Martin Weinberger, "Französische Figuren des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts in Toskana,"

Pantheon, I, 1928, pp. 187, 274.

5. Ilse Falk and Jenő Lányi, "The Genesis of Andrea Pisano's Bronze Doors," ART BULLETIN, XXV, 1943, pp. 145ff.; Falk, *op.cit.*, p. 174.

6. Martin Weinberger, "Nino Pisano," ART BULLETIN, XIX, 1937, p. 62 and pl. 4.

7. *ibid.*, p. 70.

middle of the thirteenth century on the transept façades of Notre Dame of Paris. There the "real" space contained within the frames had combined with the almost Augustan or Flavian setting of the figures against a neutral background to create a synthesis between ancient and Gothic art. By the end of the century, the box relief in this classical sense, to which Andrea's relief style offers such a striking analogy, no longer exists in France: both the figures and the frame moldings have become so shallow as to obscure the relationship between the depth of relief in the figures and in the frame. Miss Toesca points out an even remoter example as a parallel to Andrea's relief style. The choir screen of Notre Dame, a work of the second quarter of the fourteenth century, is too late (and too much disfigured by nineteenth century restorations), if such a comparison is meant to demonstrate more than the similarities found between works of sculpture which take their models from painting. But the styles of these sculptures are no more closely related than French miniatures of the fourteenth century (on which the choir screen wholly relies) are related to the frescoes of Giotto.

It is the classical element in French box relief that must have attracted Andrea to this antiquated form: in Andrea's own work, the modern observer is equally struck by the classical appearance of the Trecento relief. A similar synthesis of classical antiquity and High Mediaeval spirit had occurred not long before in certain of the façade statues of Reims. Bodies formed with an ever-increasing sense of the new values of Gothic volume and Gothic space had been clothed in draperies falling in classical rhythms. A late descendant of these statues, particularly in the arrangement of the cloak, is the Philip III at St. Denis, despite the changes caused by the evolution of half a century. Again Andrea was attracted by the classical appearance of this type of draped statue, which is clearly reflected in his own work on the bronze doors, for instance, in the *Christ Healing the Cripple* (Toesca, pl. 34). This ancient drapery motif, preserved through the Middle Ages in Byzantine paintings and mosaics, had become most unusual in Florentine art before the end of the thirteenth century; Giotto avoids it consistently.⁸ It is the sculptural execution of these folds, which rise evenly and steeply from both sides to the narrow ridges, that leaves no doubt as to the indebtedness of

Andrea to French sculpture of the early fourteenth century.⁹

In the first two reliefs from Genesis on the campanile we again find the classically draped figure. Here, in stone, the connection with the drapery style of Philip III is particularly obvious; at the same time, these stone reliefs are so closely related to those in bronze, from the treatment of the heads down to small details of folds,¹⁰ that the identity of the artist should not be doubted despite the difference of the material. Nevertheless, Miss Toesca sees in the *Creation of Adam* and the *Creation of Eve* the hand of a sculptor who is neither Andrea nor Giotto. *Adam and Eve After the Expulsion* is described as "più robusto e sintetico" (in the caption under the illustration it is given to Andrea and an assistant). From this group of three the reliefs of *Jabel*, *Jubal*, and *Tubalcain* are said to derive, worked by different hands (the *Jabel* by Andrea, who would thus in some mysterious way depend on the Master of the Genesis reliefs), but all three based on Giotto's ideas. The relief of the *Ploughman* is said to be the work of Giotto, not only in composition, but perhaps even in execution, "per il movimento, per la massa plastica." One may doubt whether such vague concepts are a sufficient basis for so bold an attribution; and certainly plastic volumes could not be more different than they are in *Tubalcain* and *Jubal*.

To come back to the Genesis reliefs: In 1937 I wrote¹¹: "The Creation of Adam and the Creation of Eve are certainly different from the third panel (Adam and Eve after the expulsion from Paradise), which is by an assistant who probably was a Pisan sculptor; they are also different from the other two reliefs by Andrea, representing the arts of Riding and Weaving. Thus Ghiberti arrives at the conclusion: 'Giotto si dice [!] sculpì le due prime storie.'¹² In order to explain this second difference, I assumed in the following lines that *Horsemanship* and *Weaving* were worked considerably (i.e., about five years) later than the first group, and that the statuettes of Christ and of a female Saint in the Opera del Duomo were carved in the interval. The difference between the two groups of reliefs is Miss Toesca's main reason for taking the first group away from Andrea, although she, too, places the statuettes before the second group. The two early reliefs have the smoothness of a gold-

8. There are only two exceptions in Giotto's work: the Madonna in the *Last Judgment* of the Arena Chapel, a figure of unusually Byzantine character, and the St. John of the *Raising of Drusiana* in S. Croce. In the latter figure, the classical origin of the motif is much more obscured than in Andrea.

9. In the plates for my article, "Nino Pisano," the editor of the ART BULLETIN placed the illustration of the Philip III next to that of Nino's Saltarelli Madonna. Miss Toesca (p. 77, note 119), rightly finding no similarity of style in these two statues, speaks of "a mere resemblance of square noses." (I would not even go as far as that, since the nose of Philip is restored.) But nowhere in my text is the Philip compared with the works of Nino. Miss Toesca seems to have overlooked altogether that I connected the statue with, and only with, the development of Andrea's style.

10. Compare, for the first, the beautiful pls. 25 and 82 of Miss Toesca's book; for the second, pls. 27 and 81.

11. "Nino Pisano," p. 70.

12. Miss Toesca totally misunderstands this paragraph. She writes (note 91): "Il Weinberger ritiene che i primi due rilievi della Genesi siano assolutamente [!] distinti dal terzo e postula per questo una mano pisana"; and (p. 34, with a reference to me in note 82): "Si è voluto vedere in questi esagoni [i.e., *Weaving*, *Riding*, *Daedalus*, *Sculptor*, and *Painter*, mentioned immediately before] l'opera di non meglio qualificati scultori pisani, aiutanti di Andrea, il quale, non pratico di lavorare il marmo, dopo aver eseguito i due primi rilievi della Genesi avrebbe dovuto correre ai ripari, chiamando a continuare l'opera gente tecnicamente più abile di lui." My acceptance of *Weaving* and *Horsemanship* is not mentioned.

smith's models; and it should be remembered that in all the documents, save one which is very late and mentions the master only as the father of Tommaso, Andrea is called a goldsmith, not a sculptor.¹³ In the two statuettes, small though they are, the heads and necks are worked in separate pieces (as could be seen after they returned from the Paris exhibition last summer); this again recalls the goldsmith used to working on a small scale, rather than the sculptor. The two later reliefs are more sculptural, but still of a wonderful smoothness and rhythmic beauty lacking in all the remaining ones. Among these, the one representing *Sculpture* shows that sharp handling of the marble which is not only the shibboleth of the professional sculptor but, more specifically, of a master of Pisan origin, distantly connected with the school of Giovanni Pisano. The *Painter* panel is by another, but also a Pisan hand;¹⁴ here, however, the character of Andrea Pisano's underlying drawing or model speaks still more powerfully than in the relief of the *Sculptor*; indeed, only the sharper style of execution prevents us from giving the *Painter* to Andrea himself, as Miss Toesca does. *Hercules* is related to *Sculpture*, though somewhat cruder; among the lozenge-shaped reliefs above the zone which we are discussing the type of *Hercules* reappears, considerably coarsened, in the *Mars*; it is to be concluded that this development away from Andrea starts already in the *Hercules*.

Among the reliefs given in this book to Andrea himself there now remains only *Daedalus*. The degree of excellence which one may reasonably expect to find in a work worthy of such an attribution is certainly not lacking here; but whether the connection with *Weaving* and *Horsemanship* is an immediate one, in the sense of a full identity of design and execution, remains debatable. Again the Pisan character in the handling of the marble seems to be more pronounced than it is in the four reliefs which I do not hesitate to give to Andrea.

The importance of these distinctions, however, should not be overrated. In all the reliefs under discussion—in contrast to, let us say, *Architecture* and *Medicine*—the directing spirit of one great artist, Andrea Pisano, appears with great clarity. This impression is only slightly modified by the collaboration of assistants from Pisa. And if Giotto should indeed have furnished some designs, they would have been transformed by Andrea in the same manner as the Giottesque compositions on the bronze doors. There is no documentary or stylistic evidence of such collaboration. One might perhaps assume for a moment that the unusual compactness of the figure of the *Painter* points to an underlying design by Giotto. Even if such an hypothesis

should prove to be correct, how much would it contribute to our understanding of the relief?

Another line of thought seems worth considering. The zone of hexagonal reliefs on the campanile is on the same level as the bases of the tympana on the cathedral. These were flanked, in the present writer's opinion,¹⁵ by oblong relief strips of which today there remains only the charming fragment of two little dogs under a tree in the courtyard of the Palazzo Medici. Is it not possible that the reliefs on the west side of the campanile were planned as an extension of the iconographic programs of the façade of the cathedral, and that the relief strips there might have had some stylistic influence on the Genesis reliefs of the campanile?

In dealing with the problems of Nino, Miss Toesca is inclined to prefer traditional dates and attributions, particularly those given by Vasari, to more recent theories. This tendency causes her considerable difficulty in establishing the chronology of Nino's works. For although she admits that the date 1348 for the Cavalcanti Madonna in S. Maria Novella has no foundation in fact,¹⁶ she accepts the statue as an early work on the authority of Vasari. This in turn forces her to separate the closely related Madonna with four assistant figures in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, from the sarcophagus of the Doge Marco Cornaro (d. 1368) over which they stand. But this case is very different from that of the Cavalcanti Madonna. The latter statue was placed in relatively recent times on a much earlier monument with which it is neither historically nor stylistically connected. The five figures in Venice, on the other hand, stand within an architectural framework undoubtedly designed expressly for them. The twisted colonnettes, the leaf ornament of the arches, and the rosettes of this framework correspond exactly to the string ornament, foliage, and rosettes of the sarcophagus. There cannot be any doubt, then, that the sarcophagus with the statue of the Doge and the tabernacles for the five statues were produced by Venetian masters during Marco Cornaro's short reign (1365-1368), while the five statues above were ordered simultaneously from Nino Pisano for no other purpose than to fill the five niches.

As Nino died in 1368 or shortly before, the Madonnas in Florence and Venice must be among his latest, not his earliest works. This leaves a vacuum for the early period which most writers from the beginning of the last century (Da Morrona) onward have tried to fill by assigning to it the monument of the archbishop Simone Saltarelli (d. 1342) in S. Caterina, Pisa. Miss Toesca widens the gap by giving the Saltarelli Monu-

13. Falk, *op.cit.*, pp. 10-11.

14. Certain resemblances can be found between the execution of these reliefs and some of the anonymous sculpture formerly in the Camposanto, e.g., the St. Francis Master (Papini, *Catalogo delle cose d'arte . . . Pisa: Camposanto*, nos. 303, 304), two small capitals with human heads at the four corners (*ibid.*, nos. 321, 322), and a third one in Frankfurt (Städtische Galerie, no. 776). A little clearer is

the case of the assistant who helped Andrea in the third relief of Genesis; the flatness of the modeling and the peculiar cut of the eyes establishes a technical relationship with two figures of angels (?) from the Camposanto (Papini, nos. 311, 312), despite the entirely different draperies.

15. "The First Façade of the Cathedral of Florence," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, IV, 1941.

16. "Nino Pisano," p. 61, note 8.

ment to a pupil. This judgment shows her at variance not only with Da Morrona but with most writers on the subject; Supino, for instance, in his Thieme-Becker article calls the Saltarelli Monument Nino's most important work. The reasons for this disagreement are evidently twofold: if, as Miss Toesca assumes, the Madonnas in Florence and Venice were produced within a few years of the Saltarelli Madonna, the latter could certainly not be the work of the same artist. Another argument reinforces her conviction that the entire Saltarelli Monument must be classed as a school piece: bound by a somewhat inflexible set of aesthetic evaluations, she interprets the French-inspired rigid monumentality of the Saltarelli Madonna as a defect in quality. She is inclined to pronounce the same unfavorable verdict on the French models of the Saltarelli Madonna. This means condemning a whole class of French statues, from the beautiful Madonna in the Louvre (No. 139) to the Virgins in Puiseux¹⁷ and Huarte-Araquil (dating from 1349 or shortly after); the latter two are stylistically closer to the Saltarelli Madonna than any of the others. As historians, we should know that this group of statues represents a clearly defined phase of the evolution from the spiritualism of the first quarter of the century to the new Franco-Flemish style of André Beauneveu in the third. Whether or not we like this "rigid" style, we have to accept it as an historic fact, just as so great an art patroness as Jeanne d'Evreux accepted it when, in 1340, she donated to St. Denis the statue of the Virgin now in St. Germain des Prés.

Because of the speed and thoroughness with which it adopts these very recent developments, the Saltarelli Monument can be linked more easily with the general evolution of European sculpture than with the tradition of Nino's father. The problem is not whether the tomb is by Nino or an assistant, but whether it is the work of Nino or of an independent Pisan master¹⁸ imbued with the latest notions from France. Would Nino, in the early 1340's when he himself could hardly have been much over thirty years of age, have left the execution of a monument for the Archbishop of Pisa entirely in the hands of an assistant who was helped by others of even inferior rank? It is only during the following years, in the altar now in S. Maria della Spina, that Nino draws nearer to the style of his father; in the Orvieto Madonna the two styles merge almost completely. Miss Toesca maintains, as I had done, that the Orvieto statuette is the work of Nino. Admitting

the difficulties involved—Nino may have used a model supplied by Andrea—I find my former arguments still valid. When in the two Madonnas of the 1360's Nino again falls under the spell of French formulations, the link with the Saltarelli Monument is apparent. Yet this is no longer the rigid style of the forties; the strongly curved outlines, resulting in a swaying stance, reveal a development that runs exactly parallel with the evolution of the style in France.¹⁹

One regrets to see Miss Toesca give credence to Vasari's attribution to Nino of the *Annunciation* in S. Caterina and of the *Madonna del Latte* in S. Maria della Spina. A more critical attitude would have led to the conclusion that the style of these school pieces is incompatible with Nino's authentic works. The thumbs of the *Madonna del Latte* are misshapen, the fingers of the Florentine statue are clumsy; to that extent, and no further, all four thumbs resemble each other. Can such a specious, pseudo-Morellian argument really be used to prove an identity of artistic personality? Nothing is apt to be more readily imitated by a pupil than the shortcomings of his master.

Objections to the lost inscription recorded by Vasari for the *Annunciation* in S. Caterina involve not only the erroneous date, two years after Nino's death. That might well have been a mere slip of the pen. But the form of the inscription clearly shows that Vasari had it from hearsay or even that he made it up himself. The author of the *Vite*, who cites genuine inscriptions with an accuracy approaching that of a modern epigrapher, gives this text: *A di primo febbraio 1370* (under the Virgin), *Queste figure fece Nino figlio di Andrea* (under the Angel). The use of the vernacular, the precision in the date to the day of the month, unique in fourteenth century inscriptions, the splitting of the text between the two bases, the clumsy "queste figure," the omission of "maestro" and the unnecessary insertion of "figlio," all make this inscription more than suspect.

Between the Scylla of too much detail and the Charybdis of too great an emphasis on generalities, Miss Toesca steers a course closer to the latter danger; one would, for instance, like to hear more about the transformation of Giotto's compositions in the works under discussion. She often presents the results of her observations in the form of aesthetic abstractions, while some readers would certainly wish to be acquainted with the observations themselves. There is in her reasoning an element of normative aesthetics which

17. Miss Toesca (p. 76, note 109) is certainly right in denying a connection between this statue and the Madonna in S. Maria Novella. But again she is refuting something I never said, since I connected the Puiseux Virgin with the Saltarelli Madonna.

18. By denying the derivation of one of the reliefs on the monument from the bronze doors and ignoring the evidence of the bronze statuette in the Victoria and Albert Museum which I adduced, Miss Toesca actually deprives herself of the means of proving any connection between the Saltarelli Monument and Nino, except through the Spina Madonna. The statues in Florence and Venice, being so much later, show a considerable difference in style.

19. The ivory statuettes of French origin which Miss Toesca cites in support of her early dating of the Madonnas in Florence and Venice (note 102) are dated by Koehlin (nos. 536, 552, 569) in the middle and the third quarter of the century. They are too late to serve as proof for the early date of the two Nino Madonnas. On the other hand, they are not sufficiently developed in style to be acceptable as parallels to the Nino statues: the S-curve is still tentative and the head is not inclined. A much closer parallel can be seen in a type of statuette popular not before the third quarter of the century; the Virgin in Munich (Koehlin, no. 660) is one of many representatives of this species.

sets up an *a priori* image of the artistic personality. In such a system, if carried through with severe logic, the works have to conform to this image while the chance happenings of history play only an incidental role. Fortunately, Miss Toesca does not go to these extremes. Yet one feels occasionally that the significance of Andrea's and Nino's meeting with Northern sculpture is not given its full due. Far from lowering his creative power, Andrea's inspired classical interpretation of French contemporary sculpture, penetrating—or so it seems—to the very origins of that sculpture, becomes an important element of his art; without it, the great change at the end of the century would not have been possible.

Nino, shining only with reflected light, owes his important position within the evolution of Trecento sculpture not so much to his role as the continuator of his father's art—the young generation of 1400 was hardly less familiar with Andrea's work than with Nino's. But, influenced by successive phases of French sculpture, he and his immediate followers contributed decisively to a new concept of statuary sculpture.

Neither Nino nor Andrea can be fully understood within the limits of the Tuscan Trecento. Both must be seen as actors on a European stage full of unexpected developments and peripeties. Miss Toesca admits such influences, but seems unwilling to investigate the extent to which they helped to mold the artistic personalities of father and son. To suspect her of a bias against the intrusion of foreign elements would be manifestly unfair. It might be said, however, that her aim is not so much to describe the gradual formation of the artistic personality as to distill an abstract essence of it: her portraits are static rather than evolutionary.

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WILHELM VÖGE, *Jörg Syrlin der Ältere und seine Bildwerke, II: Stoffkreis und Gestaltung*, Berlin, Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1950. Pp. 175; 85 illus.; 78 pls. DM 25.00.

Modern historical criticism has dealt harshly with the figure of Jörg Syrlin the Elder from Ulm. Reversing the judgment of the Romantics, who regarded him as one of the greatest of German sculptors, recent criticism has tended to look upon him as a mere contractor, an employer of artists abler than himself, who profited from weaknesses in the guild system to build up his own large-scale enterprise. Upon this premise it became impossible to accept as Jörg Syrlin's the figures of sibyls and wise men from antiquity in the minster of Ulm on which his fame mainly rested. For if he was a carpenter only, as the modern theory maintained, then he could not have been directly responsible for anything but the design and framework of the choir stalls of which the figures were part. Wil-

helm Pinder, for instance, in his *Die Deutsche Plastik des XV. Jahrhunderts*, pronounced the figures to be by "an unknown master working in the workshop of Syrlin the Elder."

The monumental volume by Vöge is directed against this deprecatory tendency, for he is convinced that Syrlin was not merely the head of a large workshop, but also the leading artistic influence in it; therefore, according to Vöge, the famous busts are not by a nebulous unknown, but by Syrlin himself.

It is interesting to watch Vöge tackling the task of reinstatement. He suggests that the rather intricate literary ideas upon which the whole cycle in Ulm is based are so fully understood and carried out by the sculptor that conception and execution would both seem to have been one man's responsibility. Although this consideration is too general to carry conviction by itself, a close analysis of the relation between the busts and the ornamented sides of the stalls beneath seems to clinch Vöge's argument. His descriptions of the human types portrayed, of their characters and motivations, are among the closest and most penetrating in art historical literature. One is inclined, therefore, to trust the author when he proceeds to find the same characteristics symbolized in the vegetal ornaments beneath. Speaking, for instance, of the busts of Ptolemy and Seneca, one portrayed as almost arrogant in his self-assurance, the other despondent at the moment of suicide, Vöge remarks that the ornamentation underneath reflects their antithetical attitudes: in the first instance, the tendrils seem to be pushing upward in a victorious diagonal thrust; in the second, they sag and all their flowers droop. Vöge concludes that this intimate correspondence of representational and ornamental parts is possible only on the assumption that the master has been responsible for both. Since Syrlin must be credited with the execution of the stalls, he must also have done the busts.

It should be noted that this argument, which may seem a rather risky application to the past of expressionist ways of thought, inspires considerable credence as its validity is demonstrated again and again by its gradual extension to all the busts and to their ornamental counterparts. It is strengthened further by the presence close by of grimacing drôleries which, through their mockery, catch another, this time distorted, semblance of the mood embodied in the busts.

The vindication of Syrlin as a sculptor is, however, only one of Vöge's aims, which he pursues sporadically in scattered passages. It may be assumed that, as further volumes appear, his argument, which is now somewhat sketchy, will gain in force and cogency. Essentially, Vöge's book is a discussion of the busts of sibyls, poets, and philosophers on the choir stalls in Ulm, one of the most exhaustive monographs known to this reviewer. No approach has been overlooked that promises to throw light upon his subject; and as a result we have been given a book that is equally strong in iconographic and stylistic analysis, presenting literary and pictorial traditions, investigating the European aspects of its theme as well as their application

in the restricted milieu of Ulm. Only great erudition and love for the subject, qualities which the author possesses to an admirable degree, could do justice to an approach as comprehensive as this. He has given us a book of unusual richness of texture, full of fascinating sidelights upon matters literary and liturgical, yet held together by his central interest in the artistic aspects of his theme. Vöge's independence of mind is shown by the fact that his is one of the few iconographic treatises to come out of postwar Germany, where interests of this kind have almost disappeared since the Warburg Library and the scholars attached to it were forced to emigrate in the 1930's. The book is, however, much more than an iconographic treatise, for it shows in an exemplary way how the discovery of source material and the analysis of an artist's milieu must be instrumental in helping us to understand what he made of his opportunities.

The busts in the minster are unusual in their time and place, presenting as they do pagan men and women in a place of honor in the sanctuary of a Christian church. Vöge notices that the care with which they are executed, while the Christian figures higher in the stalls have been relegated to workshop assistants, bespeaks in itself a change of attitude, a transition from the Middle Ages to the more pronounced pagan interests of the Renaissance. He points out that it was the sibyls' importance in the liturgy that is the clue to the origin of the cycle, for they are invoked in Thomas of Celano's *Dies Irae* as well as in the older *Judicii Signum*, the text of which is recorded on a tablet attached to one of the pillars in the choir. While it is thus possible to account for the sibyls without relying too heavily upon the renewed interest in them that accompanied the Italian Renaissance, the presence of the pagan sages is not so readily explained. Instead of the Egyptian Hermes, the Oriental Balaam, the Arab Abumazar, and others usually chosen as typifying the various aspects of the pagan world, Syrlin's advisers preferred to show only representatives of Greece and Rome, with emphasis on the latter: a choice convincingly attributed by Vöge to the influence of the Latin school in Ulm itself, which was flourishing in Syrlin's time.

The author then proceeds to analyze other cycles of sibyls or wise men on late mediaeval choir stalls, noting the examples in Flavigny, St. Claude, and Constance, where, however, an unsympathetic attitude toward antiquity caused the responsible artists either to put the figures in very minor positions or to express disapproval by transforming them into twisted, grimacing drôleries. None of these small cycles could have had a decisive influence upon Syrlin's work, for Vöge shows that the artist's model was a group of paintings, now lost, which may have been executed in Strasbourg. The reconstruction of this cycle from woodcuts of the mid-fifteenth century, from engravings by the "Master of the Banderoles," and from paintings by the West-

phalians Ludger and Herman tom Ring (late sixteenth century) is one of Vöge's most tangible accomplishments. It serves to underline Syrlin's own achievement, for from what the copies reveal it does not seem likely that any of his prototypes could have approached the Ulmian busts in refinement and psychological acumen.

Of other late mediaeval sibyls only one important example seems to have escaped Vöge's far-ranging scholarship: Roger Van der Weyden's *Sibylla Persica*, possibly representing Isabella of Portugal, in the John D. Rockefeller Collection.¹ It would be interesting to know what Vöge would have made of this painting had he known about it in time, for it would seem that this aristocratic portrayal is rather close to Syrlin's own prototype: witness its resemblance in attitude and in the position of the hands to the Libyan Sibyl in a woodcut, formerly in St. Gall,² that belongs to Vöge's cycle of prototypes.

Vöge identifies several of Syrlin's busts, not only with the heroes of antiquity ostensibly represented, but also with known contemporaries of Syrlin. Such double identifications are to be found as early as the thirteenth century in the statues in the choir of Naumburg cathedral, which represent the founders of the church and at the same time the Eight Beatitudes; and ever since Peter Parler and his atelier sculpted the likenesses of emperors, archbishops, clerics, and even of the two leading architects into the triforium of the Cathedral of Prague, the possibility of such secular portrayals had existed for the carvers of church decorations in late mediaeval Germany. Vöge discounts the popular but unsupported belief that the male bust nearest the division between nave and sanctuary represents Syrlin himself, for he is able to show that the person portrayed is likely to be Emperor Frederick III. All other identifications are based upon contemporary portraits of local personalities in Ulm. The philosopher Secundus, for instance, is convincingly identified with Heinrich Neidhard the Younger, a parish priest in Syrlin's time, and Quintilian with Neidhard's predecessor, Jodocus Clammer. The beautiful bust of Ptolemy is given a second meaning as a likeness of Moritz Ensinger, then chief architect of the church, whose portrait exists in the museum in Mainz. It is noteworthy, in view of what we are beginning to know about the meaning of mediaeval building geometry, that Ensinger-Ptolemy should hold a model of the heavens in his hand, as an allusion to the kinship between the work of the architect and the visual harmony of the spheres planned by God himself.

A word must finally be said about the descriptive parts of Vöge's book, for it is here that his sensitivity and sympathy for works of art achieve some of their most extraordinary results. His choice of language is as witty and picturesque as it is incisive: a rare example of that felicitous translation of visual impressions into verbal metaphor toward which all art historians must

1. *Catalogue of European Paintings and Sculptures from 1300 to 1800, Masterpieces of Art*, New York World's Fair,

1939, pl. 48.

2. Vöge, fig. 59.

strive and which so very few ever attain. One example may stand for many; speaking of the *Sibylla Persica*, surely one of the most intriguing in the group of busts, Vöge says: "Some have tried to see in this figure something of a wife and housewife, others something of a seer. To me there occurs the word of a North German painter (Paula Modersohn-Becker) who, when surprised by death, expired with the words: 'What a pity!' 'What a pity, the world is coming to an end!' is what this Persian Sibyl seems to say. In expressing her regret she gives her lower lip a small diagonal thrust forward." The reader will agree that this extended metaphor is in itself sufficient to evoke a rather vivid visualization of Syrlin's bust.

It must be added that the book is the second volume of a work of which the first and third are still missing. If any criticism may be ventured of what must be regarded as an outstanding achievement, it is that the text includes too many unexplained references to the contents of these unpublished volumes, adding unnecessary complexities to a book which ranks among the most complex in recent scholarly literature. Such enigmatic references cannot but lend a sibylline touch to this monograph on the sibyls and wise men of Ulm.

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Les primitifs flamands (Corpus de la peinture des anciens pays-bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle), I: *Le Musée Communal de Bruges*, Antwerp, De Sikkkel, 1951. Pp. 72; 231 pls. 480 Belgian francs. II: *La Galerie Sabauda de Turin*, Antwerp, De Sikkkel, 1952. Pp. 33; 69 pls. 240 Belgian francs.

Through the years that I have spent gathering material for the Metropolitan Museum's catalogues of paintings, I have never yet found myself in the mental state of the disgruntled little dilettante who allegedly returned a gift volume on the panda to his Junior book club because it told him "altogether more" than he wanted to know. Faulty provenances, blind references or the total absence of bibliography, elusive dimensions, stringently selected illustrations (and not the ones I would have chosen), and a deplorable lack of details about the material condition of pictures are a few of the sins committed by most of the publications on which we are obliged to rely. And lest this plaint seem too ill-natured, I might add that some or all of these charges have often justifiably been leveled against our own publications. It is not easy and usually not possible to be all things to all publics.

For one small but most important subdivision of the history of art, painting in Flanders during the fifteenth century, this situation is being remedied by the publication in Belgium of a series of magnificent volumes that set forth in a succinct and orderly form all the objective facts that anyone could wish to know about a small group of pictures. In 1951 there appeared in

Antwerp the first number of the *Corpus de la peinture des anciens pays-bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle*. This first volume is devoted to the study of the Flemish Primitives in the Municipal Museum of Bruges. The second, which has just arrived in this country but bears the imprint 1952, is entitled *La Galerie Sabauda in Turin*, and deals with the early Flemish paintings in the Royal Picture Gallery of Savoy. (*Sabauda* is not the name of a private collector in Turin, but the Italian adjective meaning "of, or pertaining to, Savoy.")

The entire Corpus has been conceived and is being edited by the Centre National de Recherches "Primitifs flamands." The Centre is directed by Mr. Paul Coremans, who holds in addition the extremely influential post of director of the Archives Centrales Iconographiques at the Cinquantenaire in Brussels, and is also director of the Laboratoire Central des Musées de Belgique, one of the best-equipped and most functional technical laboratories for the examination of paintings in the Western world. M. Lavalleye, a distinguished scholar and professor at the University of Louvain, is chairman of the editing committee of the Corpus. Each of the two volumes already out has been put together by a member of the Archives Centrales, collaborating with a member of the curatorial staff of the museum owning the pictures under consideration. Presumably, this is the efficient and workable plan for the entire project. The Bruges volume has been prepared by A. Janssens de Bisthoven of the Centre and R. A. Parmentier, Curator of the Archives and Historical Monuments of the city of Bruges. The preparation of the book on the Turin Gallery is due to Et. de Geradon, of Mr. Coremans' staff in Brussels, and C. Aru, Honorary Superintendent of the galleries in Piedmont and President of the Albertine Academy of Fine Arts in Turin. It is the intention of the directors of the Corpus to apportion the work to the most eminent specialists, and the first two volumes in their completeness and accuracy attest to the wisdom of their early choices.

According to the advance notices sent out by the Antwerp publishing house of Van Sikkkel, which has created an extremely satisfactory format for the books, it has been the ambition of the editors of the Corpus "to obtain accurate and critical objective information about all the pictures by the Flemish masters of the fifteenth century at the disposal of research workers." The folder about the Corpus goes on to summarize the three branches of "science which may no longer be ignored nowadays: stylistic criticism, historical documents, and physical and chemical research." All of us admit that no achievements of chemistry or physics will ever succeed in making the history of art into an exact science; neither the mind of Titian nor the flash of Rubens' brush are susceptible to complete dissection. But the sensitive perceptions and instinctive judgments of Willi Burger (E. J. T. Thoré) recorded in his studies of the great Manchester exhibition of 1857, like Morelli's stylistic analyses of the Italian paintings in the museums of Munich, Dresden, and Berlin, which appeared in 1880, have been enormously cor-

rected and often fortified by the technical and scholarly research of the last seventy-five years. Avid and painstaking delving into civic and ecclesiastical archives, no less than the miracles of modern photography and the splendid equipment of a modern technical laboratory, with all the evidence made available by the X-ray, infrared light, the microscope, and chemical analysis of pigment and structure, have combined to offer the scholar in the field of fine arts a great body of objective material on which to base his hunches and by which to control them.

The organization of all this available material presented the editors of the Corpus with the formidable task of devising a system for its clearest and most useful presentation. They came up with a plan of ordering the data on each picture under ten headings, which precede the wonderfully generous array of incomparable photographs and details. Lettered from "a" to "j," the headings include *Classification*, *Identification of Painting* (with the useful inventory number in the collection and in the most recent catalogues), *Material Description* (which Mr. Coremans and his staff are superlatively qualified to provide), *Iconographic Description*, *Historical Account*, including origin and subsequent history, *Documents for Comparison*, listing other versions, replicas, etc., *Opinion*, which is the expression of the authors' views, *Bibliography*, *Archival Documents and Literary Sources*, and finally a *List of the illustrations of the picture under consideration*. For the section called *Opinion*, this reviewer is deeply grateful, if only as a relief from the all-too-common shilly-shallying of qualified people who think that they have done their duty when they have put forth a body of facts. It reveals that the authors and editors, courageously exposing themselves to disagreement and opposition, have recognized the fact that after assembling and weighing all this evidence they are in a good position to judge, and have accepted the responsibility of expressing a considered opinion.

The illustrations alone deserve a paean of praise. Not only is there a plate for every picture; sixty-nine illustrate the five paintings studied in the Turin Gallery. For the fifteen paintings taken up in the Bruges volume, there are 231 illustrations, four in color, including a great many details and enlargements of inestimable value to scholars, especially on this far side of the Atlantic, for making comparisons of brush stroke and technique. There are eighteen details of Hugo van der Goes' *Death of the Virgin*, including one remarkably truthful color plate. Excellent photographs of inscriptions are given, even of frames and the back of a panel.

It is interesting to note that the editors have not adhered so rigidly to their original plan that they were unable to make a change for the better. The plates of Volume I bear no numbers, referring only to the catalogue numbers of the pictures in the text. In Volume II this same useful reference to the text has been retained, but there are also consecutive plate numbers in Roman numerals, amplified by references in arabic numbers to the pages of the text where the illustration

comes under discussion. Another feature that the first volume lacked is the inclusion of a very practical index of the names of persons and places, and an iconographical index. Sufficient care and conscience probably went into the over-all plan so that it will be able to endure throughout the execution of the elaborate project. But undoubtedly minor improvements, like the change in numbering, will be made from time to time.

Because of the narrowing of the field to Flemish Primitives of the fifteenth century, and because so few pictures are studied in each tome, the information provided is a great deal fuller and more detailed than even the most ambitious museum catalogue could hope to offer. Furthermore, no museum in Europe or America is prepared to study even the most precious of its own paintings with facilities and equipment comparable to those at the Laboratoire Central. Up to now, the only works in the field of Flemish painting which provide a survey of the entire oeuvre of the most important Primitives are the irreplaceable volumes of Max J. Friedländer's *Altniederländische Malerei*. But their intention is altogether different, and they offer at the same time much more and much less. Therefore, the appearance of the Corpus marks a great milestone in the history of art and is an occasion for rejoicing.

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BEATRICE GILMAN PROSKE, *Castilian Sculpture, Gothic to Renaissance*, New York, Hispanic Society of America, 1952. Pp. 525; 328 ills. \$15.00.

Historically the period from 1450 to 1520 was perhaps the most thrilling in the whole epic of Spain, and artistically no age was more productive and none more typical of all that is most Spanish. The reign of Isabella the Catholic (1474-1504) is the very heart, both politically and culturally, of that age, and even the artistic style of the flamboyant Gothic bears her name, the Isabelline. To the sculpture, so abundant in number of monuments and so exuberant in decorative spirit, Mrs. Proske has devoted an impressive volume. Her scholarship is exemplary of the best that the most searching historical method can produce, and she writes in a charming and readable manner with direct and forceful English, free of pedantry. Few are the historians of art who can measure up to her level on either count.

The second half of the fifteenth century in Spain was preponderantly under Flemish influence in sculpture and painting, due to the influx of artists from northern Europe who were attracted by a country of great wealth and opportunity, at a time when their own lands still suffered from the effects of war and pestilence. Mrs. Proske sets the stage with a concise and vivid sketch of the background, and then proceeds immediately to a discussion of the tomb of Bishop Alonso de Cartagena in Burgos cathedral, which she regards as the first important monument of the florid Gothic. The exquisite alabaster statuettes of saints on

the sarcophagus identify the hand of a Flemish master, and I believe that Mrs. Proske is correct in accepting the date of ca. 1447 for this tomb. Formerly I thought that the monument of that time was replaced by another about 1475 because of the similarity of the effigy to the style of Gil de Siloe.¹ Following the discussion of this tomb, the author continues with a careful analysis of the important series of late Gothic tombs in Burgos dating from the second half of the fifteenth century.

One of the outstanding personalities of this period was Simón de Colonia, son of a Spanish mother and a German father, Juan de Colonia, who had presumably come to Burgos with Alonso de Cartagena on the latter's return in 1440 from the Council of Basle. His masterpiece among numerous works is the chapel of the Constable of Castile in Burgos cathedral, famous for its star-shaped vault and its rich array of sculpture. Simón was the director of a great workshop, and although he is credited with the design of the statues, he probably took little if any part in the carving of them. The Apostles and other sculptures within the chapel (1482-1494) belong to his school, whereas the statues on the exterior are dated in the second decade of the sixteenth century during the activity of Simón's son, Francisco.

In her discussion of the celebrated façade of San Gregorio, Mrs. Proske agrees with my earlier analysis of the styles of sculpture here as derivative from the workshops of Simón de Colonia and Gil de Siloe.² The disputed authorship of the architectural design has now been settled, since the publication of Mrs. Proske's book, by the discovery of the contract for the chapel.³ The well-known master, Juan Guas, received the commission for the chapel in 1488, and his colleague was Juan de Talavera, a sculptor whose activity at Toledo, Sigüenza, and Segovia Mrs. Proske discusses.

The greatest figure in Burgos at the end of the fifteenth century was Gil de Siloe, favorite sculptor of Isabella the Catholic, who engaged him to carve the tombs of her parents and of her brother as well as the high altar of the Carthusian church of Miraflores where they are interred. About Gil de Siloe's origin controversy has raged, and it is doubtful that any complete agreement will ever be reached. Bertaux's suggestion that he was a converted Jew who adopted the Biblical name Siloam (Siloe) no longer receives much credence, and the other story that he was a German Jew from Nuremberg is purest fantasy.⁴ Mrs. Proske rejects a more recent suggestion that the name may be traced to a geographic site near Prague, the Latin form of which is Siloe. An important Premonstratensian monastery was located there for several centuries.⁵ The possibility of a distant family connection in Bohemia

does not seem to me entirely incredible, for refugees fled before the Hussites in the early fifteenth century. A proposal to identify Gil de Siloe with a man named Gil de Amberes (of Antwerp) has been generally accepted in Spain, although there is not the slightest evidence to support such a belief, other than the fact that the two were contemporaries. The Belgian professor who wrote under the pseudonym Juan de Salazar attempted unsuccessfully to prove the case.⁶ The theory is rendered even more untenable by the discovery of documents in the archives of San Esteban at Burgos, in which Gil is called "Maestre Gil de Urliones."⁷ Since he was engaged to carve the original high altar (now destroyed) of the church in collaboration with his well-known partner, the painter Diego de la Cruz, there seems to be no doubt that Gil de Siloe was also known as Gil de Urliones. The word "Urliones" is a Spanish corruption of "Orleans," and hence the surprising fact now emerges that he was actually born in France. Undaunted by this evidence, María Elena Gómez-Moreno now holds that Gil de Siloe was both Gil de Urliones and Gil de Amberes—in other words, native of two places.⁸

Other important new information is revealed in the San Esteban document, notably that Diego de la Cruz supplied only the polychromy for Gil de Siloe's sculpture on the high altar. Hence their partnership in the Miraflores Retable, the *Tree of Jesse* Retable, and the destroyed high altar of San Gregorio of Valladolid must have been arranged in this same way, and Diego de la Cruz was probably not a sculptor at all. The other hand in the Siloe shop which I formerly identified as that of Diego de la Cruz must now become anonymous. His artistic personality is still intact, however, and it includes the handsome polychromed figure of St. George, hidden away in the church of Santa Agueda at Burgos.

Mrs. Proske does not mention the seated figure of St. Andrew in the high altar of San Esteban at Burgos, although there seems to be little doubt that it is the figure for which Gil de Siloe was paid in 1496. This statue is all that remains of the late Gothic altar. In the matter of attributions to Siloe I find myself in repeated disagreement with Mrs. Proske. Her rejection of the tomb of Alonso de Cartagena is acceptable, but I can see no reason to doubt Siloe's authorship of the little retable of St. Anne, one of his finest and most characteristic works, as all critics have agreed. Even more surprising is the rejection of the tomb of Juan de Padilla, although admitting that the effigy is "almost a companion piece to Infante Alfonso's image." The tomb was obviously left incomplete at Gil de Siloe's death, assembled rather clumsily, and given a *Pietà* which was carved fifteen to twenty years later

1. Harold E. Wethey, *Gil de Siloe and His School*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, pp. 56-57.

2. *ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

3. García Chico, "Juan Guas en la capilla del colegio de San Gregorio," *Boletín del Seminario*, Valladolid, LII-LIV, 1949-1950, pp. 200-201.

4. Wethey, *op.cit.*, pp. 19-20.

5. "Sobre el apellido Siloe," *Boletín del Seminario*, Valla-

dolid, XIII-XXI, 1936-1939, pp. 91-92.

6. "El origen flamenco de Gil Siloe," *Archivo español de arte*, XIX, 1946, pp. 228-242.

7. Teófilo López Mata, *El barrio e iglesia de San Esteban*, Burgos, 1946, pp. 102-105.

8. *Breve historia de la escultura española*, Madrid, 1951, p. 65.

than the rest of the monument. Yet the effigy is surely Gil's own personal work. Gil de Siloe's name represents a gigantic workshop, so the discrepancies in these attributions, which Mrs. Proske notes, are very minor matters. I find it much more difficult to understand how he could have been responsible for works so unlike each other as the *Tree of Jesse* Retable, the high altar of Miraflores, and the royal tombs at Miraflores. Nevertheless, all of them are documented.

The late Gothic school of Toledo was as large as that of Burgos and perhaps even more influential, although it possessed no single master of Gil de Siloe's stature. The first important monument is the chapel of Alvaro de Luna (1430-1440) in Toledo cathedral. Later, in the mid-century, activity began in full force with the appearance of Hanequín Coeman and his brother, natives of Brussels. The first-mentioned was chief architect of the cathedral from 1448 to 1475, and he directed the building of the famous Puerta de los Leones. The sculpture and separation of styles of the artists employed there have been well known for some time.⁹ One of the most important products of this school is the tomb of Alonso de Velasco in the monastery of Guadalupe, a work whose figures are completely Flemish in style. In his last will and testament, Velasco himself said that the sculptor of his own tomb was Egas Cuyman, *maestro mayor de la iglesia de Toledo*, and hence the evidence seemed unassailable that Maestre Hanequín of Toledo and Egas of Guadalupe were the same man. Recent documents discovered by Azcárate designate Maestre Hanequín only as an architect. Hence it is now supposed that Velasco was confused in his old age, and that the sculptor at Guadalupe was Hanequín's brother. No one has ever argued that the brother was *maestro mayor* at Toledo—indeed, quite the contrary.

It is difficult to understand Mrs. Proske's reluctance to recognize the same hand in both the tomb and the fragments of a *Crucifixion* in wood sculpture at Guadalupe. The style is in every respect identical throughout, and the superb group of the *Madonna and St. John* in full length reproduces a prototype from Roger van der Weyden's painting which could have been known only to masters from Brussels. She does, however, accept the Cuenca choir stalls, which are mediocre works of Maestre Egas' shop, because they are fully documented, although they show little similarity to the sculpture of the Velasco tomb.

The leading figure of the florid Gothic in Toledo was, however, Juan Guas, the son of French parents who were natives of Lyons. He may have been born in Spain or else have arrived there at an early age. As the favorite architect of Queen Isabella, he enjoyed unprecedented opportunities, and his name is virtually "synonymous" with the Isabelline style, as Mrs. Proske expresses it. That he had been trained as a sculptor is proved by the documents, but after he rose to prominence he became a director of great projects and could not have had time to use the chisel. He was

active at the cathedral of Segovia, where he held the office of chief architect from 1473 to 1491. The monastery of El Parral at Segovia, the monastery of Guadalupe, and the palace of the Duke of Alba at Alba de Tormes also enlisted his attention. Various architects often worked upon the same monument at different periods, thus complicating the problem of distinguishing individual masters' contributions. Mrs. Proske, in her usual thorough fashion, has searched out and pondered over the extensive documentation in unraveling the many tangled threads. No less exacting is her study of stylistic features and the interaction of one architect's personality upon another. Juan Guas' most celebrated ecclesiastical building is the church of San Juan de los Reyes, begun by the king and queen in 1476 and then planned as their place of burial. The richness of late Gothic decoration reached unprecedented heights here in a royal foundation of unlimited resources. Gothic and *mudéjar* elements fuse to produce the ultimate expression of the Isabelline style. Scarcely less significant is the Colegio de San Gregorio, the design of which is certainly due to Juan Guas, as the newly discovered document indicates. His originality of mind is as unquestioned here as in his masterpiece of domestic architecture, the fabulous palace of the Duque del Infantado at Guadalajara. The later modifications of that palace, i.e., replacement of the Gothic columns by Tuscan supports in the patio and the substitution of Renaissance windows for Gothic on the façade, were nothing compared with the devastation of the building by the fire of 1936. Today only the shell of the façade and fragments of the sumptuous courts remain. Mrs. Proske's book is invaluable as a source for any student of late Gothic architecture in Spain. She makes no attempt at a strict demarcation between architecture and sculpture, and rightly so in a period when they are scarcely separable. Retables, portals, and tombs are classifiable in both categories, just as the artists of the period were both architects and sculptors.

The author traces the Toledan ateliers of sepulchral sculpture to Avila and Guadalajara, chief among which were the lovely tombs of the Mendoza family in the latter city. They were unfortunately among the monuments destroyed in the Spanish Civil War. The key work of the Toledo group is, however, the tomb of Alvaro de Luna. His daughter, wife of the second Duque del Infantado, ordered the two sepulchers of her parents in 1489 from an artist named Maestre Sebastián de Toledo. Nearly two centuries ago the name in the original document was misread as Pablo Ortiz, and only recently has the correction been made. Some writers have identified this man as Sebastián de Almonacid, but Mrs. Proske points out the difficulty of assuming that all of the Sebastián's were one person, due to the variety of styles involved and the length of the period covered. Almonacid was one of the chief sculptors of the high altar of Toledo cathedral along with Felipe Vigarni and Diego Copin, the last-men-

9. Harold E. Wethey, "Anequín de Egas Cueman, a Fleming in Spain," *ART BULLETIN*, XIX, 1937, pp. 391-400.

tioned being the most productive and at the same time the duller of these masters.

The last half of Mrs. Proske's book is devoted to the transition phase, when Renaissance formulae were superimposed upon the Gothic. The highly complex and confusing situation is handled with great skill, and her competence in both the Gothic and Renaissance is manifest. Felipe Vigarni, the central figure at Burgos in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, had been rather thoroughly treated by Georg Weise, but Mrs. Proske adds considerably to an understanding of the artist's style.¹⁰ To Granada and to the castle of La Calahorra Italian works were shipped and Italian artists came, thus introducing the pure Renaissance style, which was still known only at second hand in Burgos, Valladolid, and Toledo. The author's treatment of all this material is encyclopedic and exhaustive to the last degree, and there seems to be no reason even to attempt a summary of this fascinating story here. An excellent account is given of the royal tombs of Domenico Fancelli, the greatest of the Italian sculptors to visit Spain. His relationship to the provincial Spanish master, Vasco de la Zarza, receives extended attention, and rightly so, since he was one of the early transitional figures.

In the last chapter of her book, Mrs. Proske studies in the greatest possible detail the two large tombs of Bishop Gutierre de la Cueva and Mencía Enríquez de Toledo, formerly in a monastery at Cuellar but now in the museum of the Hispanic Society of America. Once casually attributed to Felipe Vigarni, the two monuments incorporate a fusion of Gothic and Renaissance elements, the latter consisting chiefly of ornament. Mrs. Proske concludes that the Gothic features are derivative from the school of Burgos and the Renaissance contributions from the school of Toledo.

Castilian Sculpture is a work of erudition and devotion in which the author has assembled a vast body of material about one of the most productive periods in Spanish history. No other phase of Spanish sculpture has been studied in such a mature and scholarly manner. Mrs. Proske's volume will inevitably remain the authoritative source of reference in this field for many decades to come.

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GUSTAV F. HARTLAUB, *Zauber des Spiegels: Geschichte und Bedeutung des Spiegels in der Kunst*, Munich, R. Piper, 1951. Pp. 234; 197 ills. DM. 39.00.

Zauber des Spiegels is a most welcome contribution to art historical literature. Its basic theme, that very human situation of "Man and the Mirror," opens a

tremendously wide field of investigation, reaching far beyond strict art history and including research in psychology, anthropology, sociology, and the history of religion. Thus Hartlaub's excellent book is not only an account of the mirror in art but an elaborate study of its role in civilization.¹

Reflections are a natural phenomenon and, as such, accidental and purposeless. As soon, however, as man learned how to produce and control optical reflections at will, these achieved the character of a conscious confrontation, which has accompanied us through the greater part of our history. The meaning of the mirror-image could vary from illusion to recognition, from self-exploration or intellectual understanding to enigmatic and magic portentousness.

Hartlaub distinguishes three functions of the mirror, which he describes systematically at the outset. First of all, the mirror reflects the corporeal world in a planar image; in this respect, the mirror image comes closest to that on the retina of the human eye, except that the reflected image is reversed. But the mirror can do more than merely repeat what the eye can see: properly installed or combined with other mirrors, it "sees" more, it extends our vision, and thus becomes a spyglass or a device that lets us see ourselves as others see us. Lastly, the mirror can alter what it reflects: the convex mirror diminishes, the concave mirror enlarges, and other, less regular shapes of the reflecting surface produce distortions that approach the effect of caricatures.

On the basis of these "real" functions, Hartlaub proceeds to a discussion of that vast and fanciful realm of magic and superstition where the practical uses of the mirror are turned into attributes and powers of the instrument itself. The mirror, so to speak, becomes animated and is regarded as a being endowed with the capacity to know and to act. By drawing upon mythology, legend, folklore, and poetry Hartlaub shows how the analogy between the disembodied mirror image and the equally disembodied soul led to numerous religious beliefs and rituals identifying the two. There still exists the custom of veiling the mirrors in a house where a death has occurred, and another survival of this kinship is evident in the name *psyché* which the French gave to large, standing mirrors in the eighteenth century. The mirror can affect the fate of the soul, principally in an evil way, and the knowing mirror can conjure up events of the past or foresee those of the future. It communicates with the world of demons and spirits and it figures, therefore, in esoteric and mystic rituals. The instability of its meanings in this context is paralleled by the ever-changing distance between illusion and deception, between *Urbild* and *Abbild*.

Having thus outlined the practical as well as the symbolic aspects of the mirror, Hartlaub gives a history of the implement proper. This is the first such attempt of a comprehensive kind, covering both the West and

10. Georg Weise, *Spanische Plastik*, Reutlingen, III, 1929, pp. 64-105; also H. E. Wethey, in Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, XXXIV, 1940.

1. Independently of Hartlaub, Heinrich Schwarz has pub-

lished a paper on the mirror in art which he had read at the Annual Meeting of the College Art Association in January 1950. (See the *Art Quarterly*, XV, 1952, pp. 97ff.) This article, while covering some of the same ground, is much more modest in scope.

the Orient, although the latter area is treated in less detailed fashion. So far, only specialized studies have been available, dealing either with particular kinds of mirrors or with specific periods in the history of the object. (A very useful bibliography of this literature may be found among the notes of Hartlaub's book.) Apart from the essential considerations of art and craft that went into the making of mirrors, Hartlaub's history also includes those elements which are so tightly interwoven with it, e.g., the industrial and economic factors behind the production of metal and glass, or the sociological aspects such as the rise of the "lady," with all its moral and erotic connotations. Because surviving specimens of old mirrors are scarce, the author in this chapter frequently refers to representations in paintings, but only as an auxiliary to the history of the objects themselves.

The mirror motif as it appears in Western painting forms the subject of the next four chapters, which make up about two-thirds of the book. Obviously, this is the field of greatest interest to the author, and the relative brevity of the three preceding chapters indicates that they are meant to serve primarily as a background for the discussion of the mirror as a pictorial theme. Hartlaub begins with the man-before-the-mirror motif, dealing with both male and female subjects. In the former, he finds the implications of the Narcissus legend to be paramount, ranging from simple recognition and self-awareness to the Delphic injunction "Know Thyself," whereas the confrontation of woman and mirror—a much more frequent motif—has a predominantly aesthetic-sensuous meaning. Both types, of course, were favorites in the humanistic periods of history, Venice having the leadership during the Renaissance. Their range is well shown in a pair of paintings by Tintoretto, the *Narcissus and Hylas* (Rome, Galleria Colonna) and the *Susanna* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). Hartlaub mentions only the latter picture and does not adopt Wilde's rather convincing suggestion that the two belong together.² Hylas, enamored of the fountain nymph, falls under her spell and is drowned; Narcissus, fascinated by his own image, wonders about his beauty and becomes aware of himself (Ovid, *Met.*, III, v. 418: "Adstupet ipse sibi . . ."); while Susanna, unaware of the onlookers, is contented rather than puzzled as she gazes at her own beauty in the mirror. These two paintings sum up most expressively the spiritual function of the art of painting during the Renaissance. Leone Battista Alberti, in 1435, saw the origin of painting in the Narcissus story. Even if he did not say so directly, he certainly implied in this view what Plato had proclaimed as the well-spring of all philosophy: the capacity to wonder. This is the *topos* of painting within the intellectual frame-

work of the Renaissance, and its survival in later times may be seen in a great number of self-portraits. It is somewhat disappointing that Hartlaub did not exploit further the meaning of the Narcissus myth as indicative of the aim of painting, and that he did not enter, on the basis of Plato, into a discussion of self-portraits, since here the double meaning of "reflection" as a physical process and as a mental activity is put to such revealing use.

Regarding Hartlaub's next chapter, on reflected images in paintings, it would again be possible to broaden certain phases of the inquiry. In this category those paintings are dealt with which show mirror images, often together with the object reflected. Hartlaub mentions the various subjects, such as *Vanitas* representations, that would induce an artist to include a reflected image, and discusses the iconographic meaning of such images.³ He deals with the challenge they can offer to those artists and periods that are scientifically or impressionistically inclined, maintaining that "in periods that stress pictorial values, the mirror can be the core or the artistic focus of a picture" (p. 90). But, in spite of many valuable findings and suggestions, he does not penetrate far enough into this theme which, owing to the kinship between the mirror image and the image on the painter's canvas, could be so fruitful for an investigation of the nature of pictorial reality. Dagoberth Frey has postulated such researches and had himself provided a number of symptomatic instances, primarily from the Middle Ages and the Baroque.⁴ Schools with a realistic, naturalistic, or impressionistic tendency are still much neglected in this respect,⁵ and this is true of Hartlaub's book as well: whenever he comes to mention painters of this kind (Manet, p. 104; Velázquez, p. 105; seventeenth century Dutch masters, p. 111; etc.) he merely states that they show mirrors and mirror reflections, without dwelling on their possible reasons or purposes. Surely, there is more to it than just the desire for realistic exactitude in depicting contemporary interiors. The theme of object-plus-reflected-image (with the addition of researches into the use of pictures within pictures and into the frame-consciousness of certain periods) might provide a tangible and advantageous approach to this complex of problems.

Hartlaub's book does not include a discussion of the mirror in modern painting. His text was written prior to 1945, which would have made it difficult for him to talk about pictures stigmatized by the Nazis as "degenerate art." But, quite apart from this, it is evident that the author's main interest lies with the iconographic meanings of the mirror motif, so that the primarily visual use of mirrors as we find it in Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, Cubism, etc., would not have yielded him sufficient material.

2. "Die Mostra del Tintoretto zu Venedig," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, VII, 1938, p. 152.

3. Schwarz (*op.cit.*, note 1, pp. 100, 103, and *passim*) gives further iconographic information supplementing Hartlaub's rather brief treatment of certain pictures, especially of the Flemish school.

4. "Der Realitätscharakter des Kunstwerks," *Kunstwissen-*

schaftliche Grundfragen . . . , Vienna, 1946, pp. 107ff.

5. A short but excellent discussion of this problem in the art of the Van Eycks may be found in Hermann Beenken, "The Annunciation of Petrus Christus . . .," *ART BULLETIN*, XIX, 1937, p. 237; and in his *Hubert und Jan van Eyck*, 2nd ed., Munich, 1943, pp. 48-49.

However, Hartlaub is at his very best again in the two final chapters, those dealing with the magic mirror and with the mirror as a symbol. He first treats the representations of the instrument that refer to such occult sciences as catoptromancy, crystal-gazing, gastromancy, hydromancy, and the like, in which the mirror played a predominant role. The shining mirror image, often linked with the magic quality of light and through it with the sun, exerted a fascination upon the viewer that could induce visions which were not caused by the reflection as such, but by a "secret power" believed to reside in the mirror. Thus it became the instrument and attribute of seers, fortune-tellers, soothsayers, and alchemists—or, at the other end of the scale, of witches and demons.

Obviously, this magic mirror does not appear in Christian art except as an implement of evil. On the other hand, the mirror could also furnish a positive Christian symbol; its unblemished surface represented purity and chastity, and the accuracy of the reflected image became emblematic of truth and *Prudentia*. At the same time, its secular use for aesthetic-erotic purposes made it a persistent symbol of *Luxuria* and *Vanitas*. Ambiguity, so often the crux of iconographic studies, presents a particularly vexing problem in the case of the mirror, with its dual aspect of recognition and illusion.

Hartlaub himself calls his inquiry iconographic in the widest sense. The different aspects of his subject have made it necessary for him to pursue a number of separate lines of investigation: reflection *per se*, the mirror image, the mirror as an instrument, the mirror as a symbol, and the mirror as an attribute. This complexity of meanings might have confused a lesser scholar; for Hartlaub, with his admirable sensitivity for the finer ramifications of his theme, it actually becomes an advantage. By constantly drawing the reader's attention to the various kinds and levels of meaning attached to the mirror in any given instance, he creates,

as it were, a system of coordinates within which every detailed observation finds its proper place. In many respects, the author has been exploring virgin territory. He presents many valid conclusions, but he also has the wisdom and modesty to leave questions unanswered whenever he cannot provide a satisfactory explanation.

Thus the book makes stimulating and rewarding reading. The author had intended it as a preparatory study for a more exhaustive monograph on the mirror, mapping out the range and general contours of such a study. This preliminary quality may account for some shortcomings which do not affect the basic content of the book, but which often prove irritating or frustrating to the student who wants to follow up some of Hartlaub's suggestions and conclusions. Although the handsomely bound and printed volume contains 197 reproductions of good quality (four of them in color), not all the objects referred to could be illustrated. Some of those not shown are well known and easily identifiable; in the case of Tintoretto's *Venus, Mars, and Cupid*, for instance, the simple parenthesis (Munich) is quite sufficient for this purpose. But what are we to do if we want to look up a "terracotta statue of Narcissus from the early third century," or "the marble mouth of a fountain in Ostia, showing Narcissus and Hylas" (p. 69; no precise location, no date, no reference to any reproduction)? Many more such instances could be listed. The same is true with regard to quotations. The appendix of notes includes a very valuable bibliography with (in most cases) complete technical data. In the text itself, however, there are a great many all-too-vague excerpts from, or references to, literary sources. Chapter II is particularly unsatisfactory in this respect. These are minor blemishes, to be sure, yet they impair the usefulness of a valuable work of scholarship that can claim to provide the indispensable basis for any future studies of the subject.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SIR:

In his review of *The Sistine Ceiling* and *The Medici Chapel* (ART BULLETIN, XXXII, 1950, pp. 239ff.), Dr. Hartt strictly separates my treatment of the problems of style, attribution, and chronology from the passages in my books dealing with the content of these two major works of Michelangelo. So far as the first group of problems is concerned, I am glad to see that he agrees almost entirely with my views (there are only minor differences of opinion); so far as the content is concerned, however, he strongly disagrees with my conception. Although this cleavage is somewhat artificial, in replying to Dr. Hartt, I must comply with the separation and treat solely of iconographic problems.

Dr. Hartt accepts one of the fundamental theses of my interpretation of the Sistine Ceiling, viz., that the succession of the historical scenes starts at the entrance and finishes at the altar, but he does not discern an *ascensio* in this sequence. For him, for example, the *Temptation* is not on a higher plane than the *Sacrifice of Noah* and he denies a "steady ascent from one image of God to the next." That there is at the beginning of the cycle, i.e., in the first three crowded compositions, a certain hesitation on the part of the Master, I have already mentioned, allowing the possibility that the idea of *ascensio* or *ritorno a Dio* was not always intended but was inserted only during the execution after the *Sacrifice of Noah*: "It is not known if this idea of the *ascensio* or *ritorno a Dio* was foreseen by the artist or if he inserted it during the execution of the Ceiling. The fact that the first three histories do not yet manifest the crescendo . . . leaves open the possibility that at the beginning Michelangelo might have had a rather systematic and logical program which he later enriched (after the fourth history) with this organic and vital movement . . ." (II, p. 41). From here on, there is no doubt about the steady crescendo of the movements of the figures and the steady increase of free space around them. In contradiction to his review, in his elaborate article on the Ceiling (ART BULLETIN, XXXII, 1950, pp. 115ff., 181ff.) Dr. Hartt himself admits the *ascensio* when he says: ". . . the first four scenes . . . take place successively in Earth, Water, Fire, and Air" (p. 187), and "Once past the barrier [*cancellata*] . . . we enter upon a realm of a sublimity incommensurable with the material world we have left" (p. 190), and, finally, these "four scenes of the sanctuary take place successively" in earth, water, fire, air (p. 196). These compositions have then the effect on the beholder that he feels himself more and more freed from his "bodily prison" to attain finally a state of absolute freedom.

Further, Dr. Hartt does not admit the existence of three superposed horizontal zones: ". . . any effort to divide the composition into . . . symbolic layers or

regions is foredoomed to failure" (p. 243). Nevertheless, I cannot follow Dr. Hartt, since a glance at the Ceiling (cf. II, figs. 2, 3) must convince anyone that Michelangelo used large cornices to separate the spandrels clearly from the zone of the prophets, sibyls, and *ignudi* seated before the painted architectural framework, and that in a higher layer behind this framework are located the historical scenes. Concomitantly, there exists a clearly defined hierarchy among the inhabitants of these three zones: in the lunettes and spandrels a humanity living a terrestrial life, in the second zone lonely figures raised to a higher degree of existence in the moments when through the *furor divinus* they are able to see the intelligible world, and in the third zone the naked prototypes of humanity and the images of God.

Dr. Hartt believes, moreover, that the partitioning into three superposed horizontal zones would overlap and collide with the axial *ascensio* and that they are consequently incompatible: ". . . so that the *Drunkenness of Noah*, supposedly the lowest stage of the soul . . . is actually represented *above* the prophets who share the divine" (p. 243). But the reviewer momentarily overlooked my interpretation that all the historical scenes are visions of the seers and by virtue of this fact are of a higher, more spiritual degree than the seers themselves. Dr. Hartt contradicts himself when a page later he accepts my interpretation of the histories: "Of even greater importance is the intimate relationship Tolnay finds between the prophets and the scenes they accompany, which should be taken as a starting point for the interpretation of all prophets flanking religious scenes" (p. 244).

Speaking about the *Separation of Light and Darkness*, I state that, before Michelangelo, in this scene "God was represented as a transcendent being existing from eternity, a being Who creates the universe as He would a plaything" (II, p. 40) and I refer (in the critical section of the book, II, p. 141) to the early Christian and Quattrocento representations (II, figs. 324, 325), concluding that "it was Michelangelo's idea to show God the Father swimming through chaotic clouds." On the other hand, speaking about earlier representations of the *Creation of Eve*, I state that "the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance consider Him [God] as a human being among other human beings in the midst of an already created world on which He is likewise dependent" (II, pp. 33, 34; figs. 306, 308). I conclude that in this scene "Michelangelo was the first to conceive God the Father as an absolute and sovereign Being, not dependent on environment." Dr. Hartt isolates from their respective contexts the above two sentences, quoting them together and so creating an apparent contradiction which does not exist in my text. I am speaking not of a definition of God the Father in general, but of two iconographic traditions, in order to show how Michel-

angelo transcended both of these to create something new.

Using a similar method, Dr. Hartt again creates "nonsense" (this is his expression) when he truncates my excerpt from Pico's *Heptaplus* (II, p. 43). To illustrate one of the important concepts of God according to the Neoplatonism of the Renaissance, whereby God is but the idea of man and not a transcendent being, I quote some sentences from this writing. Dr. Hartt cuts out the three most important first lines of my quotation, leaving a fragment that obviously does not illustrate what I intended and what the first part clearly expresses: "Felicitatem ego sic definio, reditum uniuscuiusque rei ad suum principium . . . quod autem omnia appetunt, id ipsum est, quod omnium est principium. . . ." After his surgical operation, Dr. Hartt declares that my text is "nonsense," and so it is, but only through his intervention.

Speaking of the *ignudi*, *putti*, and *spiritelli*, I emphasize that "they originate iconographically from the Christian angels which here are transformed into ancient genii, wingless and almost nude" (II, p. 48). Following the Neoplatonic Renaissance concept, Michelangelo thus identified Christian angels with the genii and daimons of antiquity. On the other hand, I also emphasize that the genii are not mere decorative figures, but "projections of the threefold nature of the seers." I then try to explain the different categories of the genii, proposing that the prophet's *natura corporale* is incarnated in the *putto* below his feet, his *anima intellettuale* in the two *spiritelli* behind him, and his *anima razionale* in the two *ignudi* above his head. This hypothesis (which I treat as an hypothesis) is supported by visual experience. I would hold no doubt for the *spiritelli* behind the seers; as for those below their feet and above their heads, there is a probability in that their spiritual link with the seers becomes manifest for the first time. At any rate, this interpretation seems to be preferable to Dr. Hartt's, by which the *ignudi* are acolytes at the sacrifice upholding the *Corpus Domini*, i.e., the bronze medallions. One immediately asks why acolytes should be nudes and how medallions of such dimension and of bronze could represent the consecrated Host. Indeed, this explanation (ART BULLETIN, 1950, p. 137) seems to be wholly arbitrary and based neither on visual experience nor on a text. (Dr. Hartt is unaware that the simple physical function of the *ignudi* as holders of acorn garlands and bronze medallions has been clearly indicated by earlier scholars [Thode, *Kr. U.*, I, p. 425; Tolnay, II, pp. 63, 162], and so he is not justified in claiming to be the first to observe this fact [p. 136].) In the critical section of the book (II, p. 159) I quote an analogy to show that Michelangelo's contemporaries also distinguished different categories of genii. The text of Varchi I do not present as a source of Michelangelo, but as a simple parallel to his categories, saying that "Varchi evidently reverted to the same source as Michelangelo: the Florentine Neoplatonism" (II, p. 160).

Furthermore, I cannot follow Dr. Hartt when he

declares "a priori absurd" my statement that the eyes of God in the *Separation of Light and Darkness* are closed, since they are distinctly painted by Michelangelo as closed, nor when he also states that "it is impossible to state that David's eyes [in *David Killing Goliath*] are closed. . . ." Again, a look at the fresco leaves no doubt that they are closed. Speaking of the David-Apollo, Dr. Hartt declares: "Stechow has already commented on the inexcusable characterization of the David-Apollo as a sleeping figure tossing in a nightmare, when he is standing upright with open eyes" (p. 249). I must reject this distortion of my text. I wrote: "The gestures [of David-Apollo] seem to be unconscious reflexes, like those of a dreamer trying to drive away a nightmare. . . . A dreamy expression characterizes . . . the face . . . [with] half-closed eyes" (II, p. 97). Stechow (*Renaissance News*, III, 1950, p. 4) distorted my text, making my suppositional statement an actual assertion. It seems that Dr. Hartt has not read my text, but Stechow's distortion of it.

Dr. Hartt misunderstands the following sentence from my book: "Michelangelo . . . integrated Jehovah with the concept [of cosmogony] of the ancients by revealing . . . how God created Himself" (II, p. 40), and declares that "if in sixteenth century Rome he [Tolnay] had given vent to comparable opinions regarding the orthodoxy of a fresco in the chapel of the vicar of Christ on earth he would not easily have escaped the stake [i.e., the Inquisition]" (p. 244). Dr. Hartt, however, forgets that the Inquisition was instituted exactly thirty years after Michelangelo finished the Sistine Ceiling; he forgets that not only this detail but also many others in Michelangelo's works are unorthodox according to the prescriptions of the Council of Trent (nudity of figures, angels transformed into genii, Virgins as sibyls, Christ in the *Last Judgment* as Apollo, the Child Jesus in the Bargello Tondo as a *putto* of antiquity, etc.), and that Michelangelo was actually criticized as a heretic-artist by Aretino, Giglio da Fabriano, and in an anonymous letter of March 19, 1549 (Gaye, II, p. 500); and, finally, he forgets that at the time when Michelangelo executed the Sistine Ceiling in the court of Julius II, the unorthodox blending of ancient and Christian motifs was fashionable not only in plastic art but also in literature. I should not have to call Dr. Hartt's attention to the fact that the court poets and panegyrists of Julius II called this Pope "more glorious than Caesar" and compared him in their poems with Zeus, Apollo, and Prometheus, since he himself quotes these poems in the same issue of ART BULLETIN (p. 216). It is surprising to see that some thirty pages later (p. 244) he no longer recalls his own quotations. There is, then, no historical justification for transforming the broad-minded Julius II into a narrow-minded puritan spirit and inquisitor.

Although Michelangelo's letters to Fattucci clearly state that he himself was in the main responsible for the iconographic program of the Ceiling (Michelangelo himself wrote: "Alhora mi dette [il Papa]

nuova comessione *ch'io facessi ciò ch'io volevo . . .*"), Dr. Hartt denies this, declaring that the program "must have sprung from the Pope's mind" (pp. 214, 247). But the reviewer could not offer convincing arguments in support of his view. His own interpretation of the Ceiling (ART BULLETIN, 1950, pp. 115ff., 181ff.) is in many points an arbitrary stringing-together of theological texts which Michelangelo probably never read and which explain little, if anything, about the peculiar visual language of the Ceiling and its spiritual message.

Dr. Hartt artificially separates the subject matter from its actual embodiment in forms and treats it as if it were a separate and unchangeable entity. He interprets it according to the anagogical method of the theologians of the Middle Ages. According to Dr. Hartt, Michelangelo has no personal message to convey and his world of ideas is simply the conventional. But why then, one would ask, has Michelangelo incarnated these ideas in such unconventional forms? The artist could have followed better the form-language of the *Biblia Pauperum* or of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, which are, according to Dr. Hartt, his most important sources.

That part of Dr. Hartt's review dealing with *The Medici Chapel* is much more summary. Again he agrees almost entirely with the chronology, analysis of style, and attributions and again he rejects my interpretation, promising to present "an alternative solution more in keeping with the nature of the chapel and Michelangelo's own words about the meaning of the figures" (p. 248). His study has since appeared in *Essays in Honor of G. Swarzenski* (Chicago, 1951, pp. 145ff.), and after having read it, I am still convinced that my interpretation follows the right path. Dr. Hartt simply returns to the idea of Condivi, Vasari, and Varchi, viz., that the Chapel is an "allegory of the princely and papal power of the Medici and their immortal apotheosis." But such a courtly hyperbole, if it is "in complete accord with the taste for rhetoric at the Court of the Medici Popes," as Dr. Hartt rightly contends, is, as I should emphasize, in complete contradiction to Michelangelo's taste and his ideas on death and the life of the soul after death. These ideas of Michelangelo we know from his poetry, and in the light of the whole ideology of this poetry we can safely interpret Michelangelo's fragment of the program of the Tomb of Giuliano (Frey, *Dicht.* 17). Dr. Hartt isolates this fragment of Michelangelo and misunderstands it. Since, moreover, there are neither glorifying inscriptions nor portraits of the deceased and since even the coat-of-arms of the Medici has been hidden by Michelangelo (it is so small as to be almost unrecognizable), Dr. Hartt's interpretation seems to be highly doubtful. And he could not explain away the above-mentioned anomalies.

I have tried to show that the Medici Chapel is not an ordinary building designed to contain tombs, but an "abbreviated image of the universe—with its spheres hierarchically arranged one above the other":

the lowest zone with the tombs is the dwelling place of the departed souls, a kind of synthesis of the ancient Hades and the Christian Beyond; the intermediate zone incarnates the terrestrial sphere, and the zone of the lunettes and cupola the celestial sphere (III, p. 63). Dr. Hartt, therefore, exaggerates somewhat when he says that I "relegated the Virgin Mary, her Child, and Saints Cosmas and Damian . . . to Hades" (p. 248). Michelangelo relegated them to the Beyond, which in typical Renaissance fashion is a fusion of "the ancient conception of Hades with the Christian Beyond" (III, p. 75).

Nor does Dr. Hartt accept my statement that the Dukes are not images of the empirical personalities, but of their departed souls, despite the fact that Michelangelo gave them no portrait resemblance and accentuated the passivity and lifelessness of their poses. According to Dr. Hartt, Michelangelo represented the Dukes in ancient Roman armor because they are "appropriated to Captains of the Roman Church." But Dr. Hartt could not give any proof for this statement. Roman armor is not the attire of the Capitani della Chiesa in the sixteenth century, who on the contrary were probably dressed in contemporary garb, but it indicates here that the Capitani are removed from the terrestrial life to the eternal life because they are dead, and therefore it is their soul that is living.

The reviewer also refuses to see with me that these figures are lighter and taller than the allegories and "seem to hover above the sarcophagi." He asks why Michelangelo has not represented them hovering, and I answer because he was an artist of the first half of the sixteenth century, not of the seventeenth. In his ideal style such naturalistic effects would have been out of place. The images of the Dukes correspond to the hovering Clipaeae above the outstretched Allegories on ancient sarcophagi (cf. III, fig. 292). But Dr. Hartt nevertheless declares that this is "nonsense."

Dr. Hartt misunderstands my text when he says that I compared the eight doors of the Chapel with the doors of Hades "because five are blind." If I compared them with the entrance of Hades, it was because of their strange form recalling Virgil's verses of the entrance to Hades and so unsuited to ordinary doors (detailed argumentation can be found in III, pp. 63, 64).

I tried to show that the Medici Chapel contains Michelangelo's philosophy of death. The immediate task was for the artist only a pretext to incarnate his general ideas on death and life after death. My interpretation is based on the actual suggestions coming from the composition and form-language of the statues and on their connection with Michelangelo's ideas on death found in his poems. Dr. Hartt, on the other hand, interpreted the Chapel on the basis of second-hand sources (Varchi, Vasari, Condivi), on the basis of the fragment (Frey, *Dicht.* 17), which he misunderstood, and on the basis of historical events which cannot be connected directly with the forms. These latter contain no allusions to political events of the day, but are kept in a remote, noble, and generalized style.

Dr. Hartt also states that the burial chapels of the Quattrocento never represent the Kingdom of Heaven and that neither in the Sagrestia Vecchia nor in the Sagrestia di Santo Spirito "is any symbolism demonstrable." As early as half a century ago the symbolism of the Sagrestia Vecchia was explained by Brockhaus, (*Forschungen über florentiner Kunstwerke*, Leipzig, 1902, quoted in III, p. 164).

More important, however, than these differences in details is the contrast between our conceptions concerning the aims of our discipline. I do not try to investigate only the iconographic program, i.e., the subject matter of the works, but to grasp their real content in which the subject matter is integrated. Dr. Hartt talks about the work of art, whereas I try to bring out the soul which is "imprisoned" in its forms, colors, and lines.

CHARLES DE TOLNAY
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SIR:

Dr. Tolnay's courteous letter makes me regret the tone of certain remarks in my review. I regret even more having to point out that Dr. Tolnay is either in error or open to serious challenge in all the major points he has now raised. In my corrections I shall follow Dr. Tolnay's order.

In the last six scenes on the Sistine Ceiling there is indeed a strong increase of mass and foreshortening, and of violence in the figural movements. But, contrary to Dr. Tolnay, the free space around the figures seems rather to decrease as one approaches the altar. Indeed, in the first scene God does not have enough space to appear entire. Despite Dr. Tolnay's assertion, there is no contradiction between my review and my articles in respect to an *ascensio*. At no point do I admit the existence of a steady, gradual rise. Instead I demonstrate a sharp and, I believe, deliberate opposition between the two halves of the Ceiling. This is by no means an *ascensio*.

I would welcome an explanation of why the representation of God in the *Congregation of the Waters* is a "higher personification of the Creator" (Tolnay, II, p. 138) than that in the *Creation of Adam*. I showed that, in terms of Dr. Tolnay's own highly fruitful approach to the order of the scenes, the eye moves downward as it travels along the Ceiling from entrance to altar. This is a serious embarrassment for an *ascensio*.

How can one "admit the existence of three superposed horizontal zones" when Dr. Tolnay's own plates reveal that two of these zones are on the same level, and are separated by a very unhorizontal zigzag molding? Plates 1-3 show that the ancestors in the vaulting are actually somewhat *above* most portions of the prophets and sibyls.

I am still unable to fathom how the *Drunkenness of Noah*, the lowest stage of the soul according to Dr. Tolnay, and the *Sacrifice of Noah* which he points out

is anathematized by the neighboring Isaiah, can be of a "higher" order than the prophets who "share in the divine." There is no contradiction between my rejection of this hierarchy and my acceptance of Dr. Tolnay's rewarding postulate that the nine scenes are visions of the prophets and sibyls. Visions are not necessarily of a higher order than the seer who entertains them, as witness Isaiah and Jeremiah. The hierarchical partitioning is invalidated by the appearance of the Holy Family in what Dr. Tolnay calls the "Zone of Shadow and Death." I pointed out this formidable stumbling-block in my review (p. 243). Dr. Tolnay passes over this objection in silence while quoting from the very next sentence. I might also express some wonder at finding Moses, David, Solomon, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Esther, Judith, etc., languishing in this same lugubrious region, inferior to such personages as Joel or the Persian sibyl. From his other works, one would imagine that Michelangelo thought more highly of Moses and David.

In criticizing Dr. Tolnay's remarks concerning the nature of Deity, I fully realized that one referred to God in the *Creation of Eve*, the other to God in the *Separation of Light from Darkness*. I appended the page numbers so that the reader might locate these sentences in their full context. I meant to indicate a discrepancy which still surprises me, between the "transcendent being who exists from all eternity" in the representations of the latter scene and the "human being among other human beings" in the former. Are we to suppose that any Christian at any time could believe both to be true? Or that any orthodox Christian could possibly conceive of God as "dependent" on His own creations?

Dr. Tolnay is mistaken in asserting that I called his text from Pico "nonsense." That word I reserved for the following remark of Dr. Tolnay's: "Michelangelo . . . integrated Jehovah with the concept of the ancients by revealing for the time in an image how God created Himself." I observed (page 244) that "such nonsense seems to acquire the force of proof though repetition, for no text is ever adduced to support it."

The expressions "truncation" and "surgical operation" strike me as inappropriate when applied to my quotation of what I clearly indicated was only a portion of the Pico text Dr. Tolnay cited. This sentence, "Idem igitur finis omnium quod omnium principium Deus unus omnipotens & benedictus optimum omnium quae aut esse aut cogitari possunt" is quite sufficient to show that Pico did not teach that God was "but the idea of man," but rather that He was, as Christianity always claimed, the beginning and the end of all things. The sentence Dr. Tolnay now supplies, full of little scars left by his own operations, does not even refer to the nature of God, but is Pico's definition of felicity.

I recognized the possible validity of Dr. Tolnay's identification of the two *putti* behind each seer with the two daimons enjoyed by every human according to the Neoplatonists (although the two mourning women

behind Jeremiah are hard to assimilate into this scheme). I objected rather to Dr. Tolnay's provision of two genii not only for each seer but for each degree of the seer's being. This assumption was the result of multiplying one text by another. Not only did it produce a fantastic number of genii, but it deprived Jonah and Zechariah, placed in the two most important positions on the Ceiling, of an *anima razionale*, supposedly the highest faculty of the soul. Dr. Tolnay does not comment on this anomaly.

Dr. Tolnay claims that my suggested interpretation of the nudes as human souls assisting at a sacrifice, and of the gilded bronze medallions as expanded symbols of the Corpus Domini, is "based neither on visual experience nor on a text." Actually, I presented both (pp. 137-138). I mentioned that Andrea Sansovino represented orant souls in the form of nude youths kneeling before the Virgin in the contemporary façade sculptures of S. Maria dell' Anima, that the soul is shown as a nude child or youth quite generally throughout Christian art, that souls as nude children are playing underneath the Tree of Life in Giovanni Bellini's *Sacred Allegory* based on the poem of Guillaume de Deguileville from which I quoted several passages, and concluded that "in the throne, the tree, the golden fruit, the naked souls, the bunch of grapes, the allegory assumes a form remarkably similar to the corresponding elements of the Sistine Ceiling." I produced texts demonstrating the relation of the subjects of the medallions to the imagery customarily appearing on the Host itself. The dimensions and the materials of the medallions should not in themselves prove disturbing to anyone versed in Christian symbolism. The globular golden fruit of the Bellini-Deguileville Tree of Life bears even less physical resemblance to the flat white disk of the Host, and both look remarkably unlike the shape of a human body.

Does Dr. Tolnay really believe I could have "claimed to be the first to observe" so universally known a fact as the "function of the *ignudi* as holders of acorn garlands and bronze medallions"? What I actually said (page 136) was, "Of the many explanations which have been offered for the significance of these figures, none, to my knowledge, *interprets them in the light of this simple function.*"

According to Dr. Tolnay's plates reproducing the head of God the Father from the *Separation of Light from Darkness* (fig. 53) and *David Killing Goliath* (fig. 129) it cannot be stated that the eyes are closed. God is seen from below, so simplified that one crescent stands for the entire eye. To me, this looks like the under side of the upper lid. The head of David is foreshortened from above so that one sees only the upper lids. They could be open or closed. But how could he aim that sword with closed eyes? And why?

Dr. Tolnay believes that I have not read his text regarding the David-Apollo but only Professor Stechow's version of it. In point of fact I have never read Dr. Stechow's review, although I knew of its existence and of its contention on this point. But I read Dr. Tolnay's text with sufficient care to notice that it is

now Dr. Tolnay who distorts his own printed words. I said that the David-Apollo had been characterized as "a sleeping figure tossing in a nightmare" because the sentence Dr. Tolnay now omits from his self-quotation reads, "Instead of a normal standing position, based on the physical laws of the body, the position here is of one tossing in his sleep."

It seems I have forgotten "that the Inquisition was instituted exactly thirty years after Michelangelo finished the Sistine Ceiling." This although Dr. Tolnay cites the very page on which I mentioned that "the Spanish Inquisition . . . owed its approval to the Rovere." The Spanish Inquisition was authorized by a bull of Pope Sixtus IV, by whom the Chapel was built and for whom it was named. This bull, dated November 1, 1478 (Pastor, London ed., IV, pp. 398ff.), was followed by a number of other measures, including the appointment of the Bishop of Seville as papal judge of appeals for the Inquisition in 1483 and, in the same year, of the notorious Torquemada as Grand Inquisitor. Sixtus also instituted repressive measures against the Waldensian heresy in Piedmont and in France. I need scarcely re-emphasize the crucial role played by Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, later Julius II, at his uncle's court, or his devotion to his uncle's memory, or his indebtedness to his uncle's theology.

It is beside the point to bring up the much later proscriptions of the Council of Trent, according to which not the orthodoxy but the decency (an entirely different matter) of Michelangelo's frescoes was questionable. On the subject of obscenity Pietro Aretino is surely an unchallengeable authority, but on theological questions I still prefer the Pope.

If to use an antique *putto* for the Christ Child is a sign of heresy, then Raphael is a heretic, too, for he used the selfsame figure in his Bridgewater Madonna, not to speak of turning a Meleager into the dead Christ in his Borghese *Deposition*. Julius II seems to have had a predilection for heretic artists. But then, I suppose he had small choice. For this nefarious crew did not even begin with Nicola Pisano and the *Visitation* Master at Reims, but goes all the way back to the blasphemous Early Christian mosaicist who represented Joshua as a Roman *imperator*, and to those relapsed heretics who kept turning pagan *erotes* into Christian angels on sarcophagi in which the vineyard of Dionysus becomes reconsecrated to Christ.

Dr. Tolnay's modern distinction between "broad-minded" and "narrow-minded" is irrelevant to the sixteenth century. The same Pope who is compared with Zeus, Apollo, and Prometheus has an unbroken record as a champion of Christian orthodoxy and papal supremacy. If Dr. Tolnay still thinks that on page 244 I have already forgotten the passages I went to some pains to dig up for use on page 216, I can only refer him to the exemplary opening chapter of Emile Mâle's *L'art religieux après le concile de Trente*. Mâle shows how at the height of the Counter-Reformation the preaching brother Borghini interpreted the deliverance of Andromeda by Perseus as the salvation of the world

by the true faith, or how Msgr. Agucchi moralized the program of the loves of the gods he had invented for the gallery of the Cardinal Farnese.

After devoting nearly three columns of fine print in the ART BULLETIN to an analysis of the Michelangelo-Fattucci correspondence in the light of Michelangelo's psychology in general and the implications of such an interpretation for the authorship of the program of the Ceiling, it is discouraging to learn that "the reviewer could not offer convincing arguments." If Dr. Tolnay accepts Michelangelo's letters to Fattucci as an objective statement, why does he (II, p. 3) reject Condivi's account of the supposed Bramante-Raphael conspiracy, almost certainly inspired by Michelangelo? And what does he do when the Fattucci letters show that in 1523 Michelangelo denied the existence of the same contract he had recorded with his own hand in 1508?

It is a flexible logic which first criticizes me for maintaining that the basic program did not arise in Michelangelo's own mind and then offers the argument that he could not have read the texts I cite. Incidentally, I nowhere propose the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* as Michelangelo's "most important sources." I cite them as a means of demonstrating the universality of certain anagogical interpretations I find in the Ceiling. Dr. Tolnay never mentions that I also cite a Renaissance typology published in Italy while the Sistine Ceiling was in process of execution, or that I trace an analogous method in the Stanza d'Elodoro of Raphael. He overlooks my "supposition that the Pope gave general directions to a Franciscan theologian at his court," my identification of this theologian as Marco Vigerio (an identification which I have quite recently defended in these columns), and my citation of numerous passages from a book by Vigerio dedicated to his friend and protector Julius II the year before the Ceiling was commenced.

Why should only Michelangelo in the whole history of Christian art be exempt from the universal practice of executing a program supplied by a patron? Dr. Tolnay himself (II, p. 6) finds that "Michelangelo's relationship with Julius II does not appear to have differed essentially from that which would exist between a powerful patron and an artist of the time." He even commences Vol. III (p. 3) with two admirable paragraphs in which he outlines such a relationship, which provided for "the subject matter of the work, and the personal taste of the patron." Yet he would have us believe that the head of the Christian Church turned over the theology of the papal chapel to a layman, not to say a heretic.

I have less difficulty in accepting the notion that Michelangelo created profoundly original forms on the basis of an assigned program than in understanding how Shakespeare wrote tragedies of unparalleled depth and power on the basis of shopworn plots, or how Bach composed some of his freshest music on traditional chorale tunes. I will not repeat what I have previously said at length about this romantic insistence on the literary originality of the visual artist. But I

must express surprise at finding myself repeatedly accused of "artificially separating the subject matter from its actual embodiment in forms" when the announced purpose of my articles was to explain far-reaching stylistic changes by means of iconographic analysis, and when the culminating chapter of the Sistine article was expressly entitled "Form and Content."

Dr. Tolnay is persuaded that Michelangelo enjoyed the privilege of incorporating his private ideas on death and the hereafter in tombs executed for the family who at the moment not only governed all Central Italy but controlled the entire mechanism of the Catholic Church. The history of Michelangelo's relations with the Medici Popes, notably the disaster of the S. Lorenzo façade, would scarcely lend color to this view. One might even mention the frequent and decisive interventions of Cardinal Giuliano de' Medici in the articulation and decoration of the Medici Chapel.

If in my attempt to interpret the Medici Chapel I have "misunderstood" Michelangelo's poetic fragment, I would be grateful to know in just what respects. I found it not only a majestic and sincere piece of poetry, but an explicit eulogy of the Duke Giuliano, clearly depicted as taking revenge on both Night and Day, who have slain him, by taking the light from their eyes. As for the absence of "glorifying inscriptions," that is quite simple: there are no inscriptions at all. They were never executed. They were, however, intended, and their nature was not Neoplatonic. The celebrated drawing, Frey 9a (Tolnay, III, fig. 90), contains, as Dr. Tolnay has pointed out (p. 39), a representation of Fame upholding two epitaphs, so explained in Michelangelo's own handwriting. The importance of this element in the entire structure of the Chapel is implied by the placing of Fame and her epitaphs at the central axis, directly below the statue of the Virgin. So specific and detailed a statement by the artist himself is in striking contrast to the very general sentiments quoted from his poems by Dr. Tolnay, which have no observable relation to the Medici Chapel and, incidentally, mention neither Hades nor the triple division of the Neoplatonic universe.

If the Medici Chapel is indeed an abbreviated (and very abbreviated) image of the universe according to Neoplatonism, is it not strange that the Florentine Neoplatonists who commented on the Chapel were so totally unaware of this? I indicate this dilemma in my article on the Medici Chapel (p. 153), but again Dr. Tolnay glides over the question.

What does Dr. Tolnay have against the Holy Family that he keeps putting them in these *mauvais lieux*? We found them lurking in the Zone of Shadow and Death in the Sistine Ceiling; now they turn up in Hades-fused-with-the-Christian-Beyond. Dr. Tolnay explains this allocation (surely blasphemous in the Renaissance) in a sentence which I find less comprehensible every time I read it. I was under the impression that the Christian Beyond also consisted of three superimposed zones, Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven. In which of these would one expect to encounter the

Blessed Virgin? And how can these three sharply divided realms all be "fused" with Hades? Would not Paradise correspond to the celestial sphere? Dr. Tolnay does not elucidate such questions by referring us to the page in his book in which he likewise offered no evidence and no text.

The question of portrait resemblance is settled by Michelangelo's own words as recorded by Niccolò Martelli and translated on page 148 of my article: "He gave them a greatness, a proportion, a dignity . . . which seemed to him would have brought them more praise, saying that a thousand years hence no one would be able to know that they were otherwise." This complete explanation, in keeping with Michelangelo's predilections on the subject of portraiture, is also consistent with the central placing of Fame in the Chapel. But where is any mention of departed souls? When Michelangelo refers to these figures in his correspondence, he calls them "i Capitani" (Milanesi, *Lettere*, p. 453).

Dr. Tolnay's hybrid Beyond must be indeed a treacherous place if departed souls have to go about encased in armor. To me, this gives them quite a military air, as it has to one or two other scholars and to the learned Migliore in the seventeenth century. One seems to remember other commemorative Renaissance statues of military leaders in Roman armor, such as Donatello's *Gattamelata*, Bandinelli's *Giovanni delle Bande Nere*, Leone Leoni's *Vespasiano Gonzaga*. The only military distinction enjoyed by the two Dukes was their dignity as Captains of the Church. The Roman patriciate had been conferred upon them. I alluded (p. 148) to Steinmann's derivation "of Giuliano's pose from the reliefs of Saints Demetrius and George, those armed warriors of the Church who appear on the façade of San Marco in Venice." I might remind Dr. Tolnay that I owe the inception of many of my ideas concerning the Medici Chapel to his own keen observation (III, p. 69) that Giuliano, contemplating the Virgin, holds the baton of a *Capitano della Chiesa*.

A perplexing discrepancy in Dr. Tolnay's letter is the passage where in one sentence he laments that I "refuse to see" that the Dukes "seem to hover above the sarcophagi" and in the next explains why Michelangelo *has not represented them as hovering*! The new explanation is still more baffling: it is because Michelangelo "was an artist of the first half of the sixteenth century, not of the seventeenth." What are we to think of the hovering figures in Titian's *Assunta*, Raphael's *Transfiguration*, Correggio's domes, all from the first half of the sixteenth century? Or Michelangelo's own hovering *Resurrection* drawings, connected with the Medici Chapel by Dr. Tolnay? Or the fact that the two Dukes are really represented as firmly seated on marble blocks?

Nowhere in my review do I declare that Dr. Tolnay's comparison of the Medici Chapel compositions to certain Roman sarcophagus types is "nonsense." For that matter, I never mentioned this parallel at all. But

now that Dr. Tolnay has put the words into my mouth, I might as well go ahead and say that I see no sense in a comparison between a bust portrait in a medallion upheld by flying winged figures and a full-length statue seated above reclining wingless ones.

The "detailed argumentation" comparing the doors of the Chapel with the entrance of Hades consists chiefly of the following: "These are apparently the doors of Hades, the descent through which is described by Virgil as easy, the ascent as extremely laborious." Then follows the famous passage (Aeneid VI, 126-129), containing no suggestion as to any "strange form" of these doors—in fact, mentioning them only in line 127, which Dr. Tolnay omits. This states that the door through which Aeneas enters is open night and day. Farther on (lines 893-895), two other doors are described, one of ivory and one of horn. Now what is their relation to the wooden doors of the Medici Chapel? Why are five blind, therefore constantly closed? Why is the Chapel on the same level as the rest of the church, so that there is neither an easy descent nor a difficult ascent? Why, in the passage Dr. Tolnay finds particularly apt to explain laughing masks in Hades, does Michelangelo actually refer to the happy dead in Heaven (*cielo*)?

Texts can sustain or refute an argument. One is quite helpless, however, before "actual suggestions coming from the composition and the form-language of the statues." Therein lies the real difference between Dr. Tolnay's approach and mine. His professed aim seems to partake more of mysticism than of scholarship. But at least Dr. Tolnay and I are agreed on the sublimity of Michelangelo's genius. I do not feel that I have detracted from the grandeur of his art by finding in it a prophetic responsiveness to the spiritual problems confronting two of the dramatic periods through which Michelangelo lived. I would be sorry if the present exchange of letters were construed as reflecting in any way on my respect for Dr. Tolnay's invaluable contributions to Michelangelo scholarship, particularly in the fields of attribution and documentary analysis.

FREDERICK HARTT
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SIR:

I am very reluctant to impose upon your hospitality in a matter of scant general interest. But since Dr. de Tolnay has chosen—quite needlessly, in my opinion—to attack me in connection with his discussion of Professor Hartt's review of his book, I am forced to defend myself.

The pertinent sentence in my review of Dr. de Tolnay's book (*Renaissance News*, III, 1950, p. 4) reads as follows: ". . . the Bargello 'David-Apollo' is analyzed exclusively as David in the role of a 'victor who is ill at ease from having been victorious, who is

haunted by inner torments, trying to ward off with his arm bad dreams,' and even as 'tossing in his sleep.' " Dr. de Tolnay writes: "Stechow . . . distorted my text, making a suppositional statement an actual assertion," and in order to prove this distortion quotes a passage of his chapter on the David-Apollo which contains a "seems" and a "like." Yet the sentences immediately preceding and following the one quoted are unquestionably "affirmative" rather than "suppositional." The sentence immediately preceding that under discussion reads: "Instead of a normal standing position, based on the physical laws of the body, the

position here is [sic] of one tossing in his sleep"; a little later he speaks of "this strange conception of the theme of David as [sic] a dreamer who wants to free himself from a nightmare"; and a few lines later, he says unequivocally that this statue "*is the representation* [my italics] of a victor who is ill at ease. . . ." This omission of several distinctly affirmative statements leaves me no choice but to charge Dr. de Tolnay with distorting his own text in order to prove that somebody else did so.

WOLFGANG STECHOW
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